

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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TO

SIR ROBERT PEELE.

LETTER V.

What will you do with the Tax-eaters, called Pensioners, Sinecurists, Grantees, Retired-allowance People, Half-pay People, Secret-service People, and the like?

SIR,—If I be to judge from the language of your manifesto, you mean to push on, as the Whigs did, the whole of this system, which costs the industrious and laborious people of this country about **SEVEN MILLIONS OF POUNDS STERLING A YEAR**. Not more than one million of it, at the least, being justly due to the parties, who thus swallow up, without the smallest particle of justice on the side of their claim, nearly double the amount of what the malt-tax brings into the Treasury. You will not *look back*; you will do as the Whigs did; you will undo nothing: this is what you tell us; and if you stand by this, and if we suffer you to go on, dead dogs and cats, butchers' garbage, even feculent matter, ought to cover us, if we ever dare look our betrayed constituents again in the face. What! shall we be told in this second reformed Parliament, that it is proper to make our constituents keep in pay about four hundred and fifty generals, and about two hundred and fifty admirals, or perhaps three hundred; that it is proper for us to make them pay all the monstrous sums coming under the heads that have described; that it is proper for us to make them pay to those who ought

not to receive one single farthing from them, a greater sum of money every year than is expended by the twenty State Governments of America, and by the general Government; upon the whole business of all these governments, civil, military, and naval, including what is paid to persons for past services, and including ten ambassadors kept in Europe, by far the most able that Europe ever saw; do you think it is proper to make the people of England pay thus, and for such purposes? Will you represent all this draining of the people as necessary to the support of kingly government, and in the same breath, will you abuse the people of England, as a wild mob, sighing for a “republican government”; and that, too, without an attempt to show them, that, under such a government, the affairs of England could not be carried on cheaper, *even cheaper*, than the affairs of the American republic are carried on?

Sir, all men in power are very slow to perceive the changes which have taken place, and which make against them; and you do not at all perceive the prodigious change which has taken place in the minds of the people, with regard to this branch of the expenditure. They now understand it well; they see who the pensioners and the retired ambassadors, and the four hundred and fifty generals, all are. They see that they are peers, relations, or dependants of peers; baronets, or the relations and dependants of baronets; they see that they are a parcel of people living upon the fruit of the laborious, the industrious, and skilful; they see, and, indeed, I heard Lord ALTHORP say, that the pension-list was the effect of “charity.” They heard him say, that Mr. HARVEY’s motion for an inquiry into the grounds of granting the pensions; that even such an inquiry as that discovered a “want of feeling”; and, in a few weeks afterwards, they heard the same Lord ALTHORP, when he was urging us to pass a most severe law with regard to the poorer part of the people, tell us, that we “ought not to yield to our feel-

ings"; and that feeling was a very bad thing under which for legislators to act! And do you think, sir, that the people have been blind to all this; or do you think that you have force, red or blue, or of any colour, sufficient to make them hold their tongues, while you persevere in this system; and push on at the same time, a law, the direct tendency of which is, to compel the people to live upon COARSER FOOD, to receive lower wages, and to put the wages into the pockets of the landlords? Do you think this? If you do, you will be awakened from your reverie in a very short time.

You have seen Mr. HARVEY taken by the hand by the great borough of SOUTHWARK; carried to his seat in the House, without any one daring to offer an opposition to him. And what was this for? First, two rich men ousted him from a borough. This was a great point to carry with you. SOUTHWARK took him up, and avenged him. But it is well known to every one, that, though his pension-list motion formed, with us, who knew him well, but a small part of his merits, still it was the thing freshest in the public mind, and was, unquestionably, the principal cause of the generous conduct of the people of SOUTHWARK, one of the richest bodies of men, too, as well as the most industrious, in the whole kingdom. You tell us, that you appeal to the "intelligence and property of the country." You have enough of that here, then, at any rate. Almost the whole of the hops grown this year, pass through the hands of men living in that borough; and this year, those hops have amounted to very little short of four millions of money, the produce of our own land. It is probable that the wool trade, of which that borough is also the great centre, has not been of much less amount. One need not insist that there must be great wealth there. Here, then, you have, in the same compass, probably, a greater mass of wealth than is to be found on any other spot in the kingdom; and that, too, wealth of the most solid description. This body of wealth has determined, unanimously, against the continuance of the flagrant and prodigious injustice of which I am now complaining.

When SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH were empowered by the boroughmonger-parliament to shut us up in dungeons at their pleasure; what was that for? CANNING and WILLIAM LAMB (now Lord MELBOURNE) said, that "it was for the people's *own good*!" Just like Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD, who, at the North-Stafford-nomination, early in January, told the people, that "the Poor-law Bill was intended to *better the situation, and to raise the character of the labouring man.*" He did not explain to the people how "*a coarser sort of food*"; how putting workhouse-dresses upon them, separating man from wife, and children from both; how, having four great workhouses in a county, and no more; how cutting off all communications with relations and friends from without; how giving the landlords the votes in vestries, instead of giving them to the tenants, and enabling the landlords to vote by proxy; that is to say, to send their footmen, or scullion-wenches, to vote in their name, and to give six votes to a farmer's one vote. Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD did not tell the people of Stafford how any of these, or all of these put together, were to mend the lot, better the living, or elevate the character of the labourer; and, if Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD read my "*Legacy to Labourers,*" which will cost him only sixteen-pence, the very thought of its being read by the labourers of his parish (and it will be read by them) will make his teeth chatter in his head.

But, sir, what powers of face must that man have, who shall contend, in the face of six hundred men, that to give six or seven millions of the people's money every year, to swarms of idlers, who do nothing in return, is for the good of that people! And, have you powers of face sufficient for this? There is, on the pension-list, a REVEREND THOMAS PENROSE, who has two livings in Essex; who has a good estate in the neighbourhood of NEWBURY, in Berkshire, where he generally lives; who, during the war, went abroad with one of the EGREMONT-WYNDHAMS (who was sent as Envoy to FLORENCE) as a tutor to WYNDHAM's children; who is put down in the pension-list as having

been WYNDHAM's *chargé d'affaires* for FIVE MONTHS ; and as having now a pension of 213*l.* a year for that service, and as having had the same pension for TWENTY-TWO YEARS. Now, Sir ROBERT PEEL, have you powers of face to say that my laborious constituents, many of whom are compelled to live upon a few pence a day, ought to be compelled to continue to pay this man this pension ? We shall find it still upon the list ; or, in consequence of my loud reprobation of it, we shall find it quietly scratched out. If the latter, will you not tell us the reason why you scratched it out ; and, if the former, will you not be called upon to make PENROSE disgorge ? If the former : if you have the powers of face to defend this pension, will you not be put to the test ? Will not the House divide ? Will not every man in the country know who it is that has voted his money into the pocket of this PENROSE ?

When we petitioned for parliamentary reform, and had dungeons and gags for our reward, we stated what it was we wanted a reform to do for us ; we set in the foreground the *lightening of our burdens* ; and of those burdens, the first we stated was the enormous burden of placemen, pensioners, sinecurists, and the like, so unjustly, as we said, imposed upon us ; and, will you now resist ? Will you do as the Whigs did ? Will the members, after the reproaches ; after the severe buffeting and cutting that they have received, still uphold these lists ; still vote forty thousand a year for secret-services ? This is hardly to be believed : not, however, impossible ; but quite impossible that you should succeed in the end. There will be, at any rate, a few of us now to set about this matter, in regular form, and with full information ; to lay before the House ; and before the "*intelligence of the country*," this mass of expenditure, in all its hideous features and its boundless extent ; and to avail ourselves of the aid of the press, in all sorts of ways. Your colleague, Mr. ALEXANDER BARING, had, amongst his objections to the Reform Bill, this : that it would "let in pushing men, who would "look narrowly into papers and ac- "counts" ! Strange objection ! But, a

very rational one, if it be meant to carry on this system. To be sure, the papers are presented to us in a form complex and unintelligible enough to puzzle the very devil himself ; but still it is *black and white* ; and still there is a question to be put in every case ; and a division, if we please ; and a list of the minority, at the least ; and a discussion as long as we like ; and a hauling-up of the names of the parties ; and this, as far as I am concerned, shall not be prevented, even if kettle-drums, or gongs, be sounded in the body of the House ; and I know that there are others who will discharge their duty with equal zeal, and with more ability, than I shall.

You may have a majority to support you in upholding this monstrous abuse. If I were compelled to bet, I would bet that you would have such majority. But, in the end, this will avail you nothing. There is your *debt*, there is our true and unflinching friend : those who would fain uphold the pension-list, would fain not part with their estates to the fundholders ; would fain have a little more for their bushel of wheat, or pay less interest for the debt. Here we have you ; or we have them. To the industrious classes you can decree nothing farther than coarser food, and four great workhouses in a county, with a workhouse-dress, and separation of husbands, wives, and children. You have their hostility to a man, do what you will, besides pushing on this monstrous Bill. Then comes the question between the land and the funds. You must do *something* ; and whatever you do, you carry us back to the pension and dead-weight lists. You must ease the land. You cannot do it by trick : America, and Portugal, and Brazil, will take care of that. You must either reduce the value of the currency, or make a direct deduction from the interest of the debt. It is impossible to suppose that you can do the former, without its being made clear to every living soul, that you are, in an indirect manner, doing the latter. Call your scheme property-tax ; or call it what you will ; still it will be manifest, that you are deducting from the interest of the debt. And what will be your justification for a measure like this ?

Why, the absolute inability of the nation to pay the whole of the interest, in gold and silver, without utter ruin to all persons owning land, or engaged in trade, or in the farming of land; and, when you put forward this argument, will you not be called upon, first, to lop off the six millions a year, or thereabouts, from the pensions, and other lists of idlers? Look once more at the Norfolk petition, if ever you looked at it at all. It is there said (in softer words, perhaps), that that member of parliament would be a roguish villain, who would agree to any proposition for lessening the interest of the fund-holders, until the pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, unmerited half-pay, be all swept away; and until the misused church property, and the crown-lands, be sold and brought to account; and, indeed, astonishing powers of face you must have, if you propose, either directly or indirectly, even to talk of a reduction of the interest of the debt, until these matters be justly arranged.

Here comes, then, your great difficulty, and the great difficulty of the aristocracy of landholders; they see their estates going away; they have found, even by this time, that Sir THOMAS COTTON SHEPPARD cannot cajole the people; and that the Poor-law Bill will not cram their pockets with the wages of labour. They see their estates going away; they would fain strangle the money-monster; but he, knowing that they dare not touch him without first giving up twelve or fourteen millions, which, altogether, they get out of the taxes; he, knowing this, sees them, who know it also, fawning upon him; and, at last, like the desperate gamester in HOGARTH, clenching their two fists, and holding them above their head; stamping with both feet upon the floor, and ejaculating, from the bottom of their throats, the terrific word "*damnation*"; while the money-monster, full of inward triumph, sniggers in their face!

Ah, sir! I, recollecting the past conduct of this aristocracy towards me, and more deeply feeling the tenor, tendency, and motives of the Poor-law Bill, also snigger at them, as I write this. I, remembering my exile to escape their dungeons, and, again, I say, recollecting

the project for making the people of England live upon a coarser food; I, having these things always in my mind, behold the difficulties and troubles and alarms and dangers of this aristocracy with delight. "There is a viper," said Major CARTWRIGHT, in one of his fine essays in favour of reform, "the bite of which is of so deadly a poisonous nature, that, if by accident, its teeth touch its tail it kills the reptile itself." Thus has it been with this system. To support itself it required a debt; there it bit its tail: the poison has been at work on its frame, from the extremities towards the heart, from which it is now but a very little distant. The debt itself, from its very beginning, was contracted to prevent the people from enjoying their rights. The last six hundred millions of it was contracted for the express purpose of preventing Parliamentary reform. A bare list of the new and severe laws; a short narrative of the military works upon the people, and of the dungeon-works, and of the vigorous works of old GREY, exhibited in his WINCHESTER caravans; a bare list of these things, from the proclamations against PAINE's writings, in 1793, to old GREY's transporting of the Dorsetshire labourers; a bare list of these would fill a large volume; and this list ought to be made; and the names of the actors ought to be preserved, too; and of the sufferers, along with the account of the deeds, not by any means omitting that criminal code, of being the author of which you so clamorously boast. Yes, this book ought to be made, while some, at least, of the parties are still alive.

Aye, the viper bit its own tail; and this it is that is now at work in its body; and this it is that is the security of this people. The aristocracy would long ago have reduced the interest of the debt; would long ago have made an "equitable adjustment"; but they knew that the people would never consent to this, and that the Parliament would never dare to consent to it, and to leave them an army and a navy, and pensions and sinecures and dead-weights, by the means of which they put about fourteen millions a year into their pockets. They knew that the people never would consent to

give them four hundred and fifty generals, and two hundred and fifty admirals, and fourteen thousand commissioned officers, while they took away the interest of the fundholders ; the people could see no sense in such a proposition, and would, therefore, certainly have rejected it. Sir JAMES GRAHAM's proposition, direct and unequivocal, to deduct thirty per cent from the interest of the debt, at once, to begin with, was, I believe, generally approved by the aristocracy ; but when I observed upon this, that the people would insist that such a measure should be preceded by a lopping-off of pensions, sinecures, grants, and the like ; by a large reduction of the number of generals, and admirals, and so forth ; and by a sweeping away of the whiskered young sons of the aristocracy. Ah ! This was another matter, and my Lord and Lady Humdrum, who had been delighted with GRAHAM's pamphlet, began to bethink themselves ; and, sitting across a little table, after the servants were gone to bed, and being too old for any other sort of *tête-à-tête*, would naturally commune upon the subject in somewhat the following strain :

LORD HUMDRUM. (*With GRAHAM's pamphlet open before him*). I have been thinking, my dear, about this pamphlet of GRAHAM : and I begin to think that it would not do.

LADY HUMDRUM. How changeable you are, my dear ! Why, it was but yesterday that you said it would save us all, and pay off the mortgage of that vile wretch MORDECAI, who really comes into the house, as if he was the master of us all ; and the beast, the other day, had the impudence to bow, and to compliment ISABELLA, observing that he would be a happy man that should lead her to the altar.

LORD H. Well, my dear, never mind that. 'Tis a Jew that would crucify us, as his progenitors did JESUS CHRIST ; but we have got his money, and can't pay him off.

LADY H. But you said that GRAHAM's project would pay him off all at once ; and now you have changed your mind, without any reason.

LORD H. No, my love, not without reason.

LADY H. Well, what reason have you, then ?

LORD H. Why, to tell you the truth, I yesterday, at Sir JOHN JOLTERHEAD'S, saw a publication in answer to GRAHAM, which proved to me, that we should lose, instead of gain, by GRAHAM's proposition being adopted.

LADY H. Lose ! what publication ?

LORD H. Why, my dear, it's a little publication that is put out up at London ; and though I never saw it before, and though I detest the author, I

LADY H. There, now, tell me what publication it is ; tell me the name of it.

LORD H. Why, what signifies the name of it, 'tis the argument that we have to look to ; and upon my soul, my dear, I never took it in, and I never read it before.

LADY H. Well, but what publication is it ?

LORD H. I don't like to tell you, my love, because I am afraid it will throw you into a passion. Well, then, I was over at Sir JOHN's yesterday ; he wasnt at home ; but I found Mr. SHARPSHINS, the steward, waiting for him. He was reading a paper, and seeing me, he crammed it into his pocket. I insisted upon seeing it ; and when he pulled it out, I found that it was COBB

LADY H. (*Falling down upon a sofa*). Oh, wretched man ! and have you been reading the trash of that bloody-minded villain, who has so often instigated the people to chop us all up, and fling us to the hogs ! We are come to a fine pass at last ! (*She weeps and cries out loud*).

LORD H. Well, my love ; but I hate the villain as much as you do ; and you know how I have been trying to get something against him to cause him to be hanged ; but you know that, as the poet says, "we may profit from the reasonings of our enemies."

LADY H. Don't tell me of profiting from reading COBBETT, that monster, whom neither jails nor banishment can kill.

LORD H. Whether the fellow wrote the paper himself, or not, I do not know ; but it has convinced me, that we shall be ruined by the adoption of the project of GRAHAM.

LADY H. But how can it be?

LORD H. I can't remember all that the fellow says; but it is full of curiosity, and of interest for us, my dear.

LADY H. How should the fellow know any thing about us?

LORD H. He does know a great deal about us, and that you would see, if you could see the paper.

LADY H. I should like to see it, out of curiosity. Can't you send and borrow it from Mr. SHARPSHINS?

LORD H. I don't know that Mr. SHARPSHINS would like to have it known that he takes it in.

LADY H. Can't you send and get it from London? I want to see it so monstrously.

LORD H. (*Slipping his hand into his coat-pocket, pulling out the Register, and tossing it down upon the table*). There it is, then, my dear!

LADY H. (*Starting back*). Oh, Lord! I almost think I see the devil!

LORD H. Well, now, do be cool a little, and I will read the paper to you all through. (*He begins with that letter to GRAHAM, in which I tell him, that the pensions, sinecures, grants, retired allowances, unmerited half-pay, the major part of the church-property, and the crown-lands, with a resumption of the same; that an abolition of all the former, and a resumption and sale of the two latter, must all go BEFORE his reduction of thirty per cent. from the interest of the debt*).

LADY H. (*When my lord comes to the word "sinecures"*). Oh, Lord!

LORD H. There, you see, my dear, though this Cobbett is a villain, still, you may depend upon it, that we, the two Houses of Parliament, could not send the widows and orphans of the funds to starve upon the highway, or perish with cold; while that great golden man, Mr. ALEXANDER BARING tells us that every inch of land in the country is *mortgaged* to the fundholders!

LADY H. (*Fetching a deep sigh, and wiping her eyes at the same time*). But, my dear, how do you make it out THAT WE SHOULD LOSE?

LADY H. Take that piece of paper, my dear, and that pen, and just put down

the sums. The debt costs the nation thirty millions a year; but a very great part of it is *paid by the working people*, while we escape it, or very nearly so. For instance, we make them pay 200 per cent. duty on their beer, while we pay 30 per cent. duty on our wine. If a farmer or tradesman die, leaving a thousand pounds amongst his relations, those relations have to give, in stamp-duties and expenses, about fifty pounds to the Government. If my estate in land be worth a hundred thousand pounds, and I leave it amongst my relations, those relations have not to pay one single farthing to the Government! Yes, yes, we take pretty good care of ourselves in this matter.

LADY H. You would be fools not to do it, when you have the staff in your own hands.

LORD H. Still, however, the fundholders do sweat us; and, as we cannot bring the labourers down to potatoes and salt, I calculate that the interest of the debt costs me two thousand pounds a year, at the least.

LADY H. Well, how can we lose by the adoption of Sir JAMES GRAHAM's proposition?

LORD H. Take that piece of paper, my dear, and the pen, and we will see now.

Loss.

£
Money paid to fundholder in taxes 2,000

GAIN.

Amount of sinecure to myself, deducting tax	700
Amount of my half-pay as a general	500
Amount of TOM's pay, as a captain, clear of expenses	100
Amount of HARRIET's husband's half-pay, as lieutenant-colonel	400
Amount of DAVID's full-pay, and bat and coal and candle-money	400
Amount of the living of SARAH's husband, in the parish of Tumble-church, a clear	700
Value of the seven yearly weedings of the forest, per annum	1,300

Carried forward *£* 4,100

Brought forward..	£4,100
DICK's salary, as Commissioner of Excise.....	1,000
PETER's income, as Distributor of Stamps	800
	—
	5,900
	2,000
	—
	£ 3,900
	—

LORD H. Thus, you see, my love, if there be any truth in vulgar arithmetic, we should lose 3,900*l.* a year, by clever GRAHAM's invention to save our estates.

LADY H. What a fool that GRAHAM must be, not to see this! And this villain, Cobbett, is our best friend after all.

Now, Sir ROBERT PEEL, this is much about the condition, and this is the mode of reasoning, of, I verily believe, more than two-thirds of the great landholders. So that the question is not, whether you be willing, or not willing, to reduce the interest of the debt; but whether you be willing, and able, to sweep away these enormous abuses; and, without the "pressure from without" at your back, you are not able to do it. That pressure, however, you will certainly have, whether you call for it, or not. It is not now a question of noise; you will hear no more empty noise: the people will come with sense, reason, justice, on their lips: they will demand their rights, and they will have them. And, as the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, so you, who must see proofs enough that the unanimous voice of the people calls for a suppression of these enormous abuses; you, fearing the ultimate effects of their just resentment, will show your wisdom, in quickly, and cheerfully, yielding to their reasonable demands.

I remain, sir,

Your most obedient
and most humble servant,
Wm. COBBETT.

IRISH ANTI-TORY ASSOCIATION.

Dublin, 13. Feb., 1835.

DEAR SIR.—At a numerous meeting of the Anti-Tory Association of Ireland held yesterday, in the Corn Exchange, John Guthrie, Esquire, barrister-at-law, in the chair, Mr. O'Connell moved, seconded by Mr. Marcus Costello: "That the marked thanks of the Association be given to William Cobbett, M.P., for the able and powerful manner in which he advocated the rights of the people of Ireland, in his late visit to this country, and that they feel convinced, he will be found amongst those 'LIBERALS' whose exertions will be used on the 19, instant, to prevent the appointment of Manners Sutton to the office of Speaker to the House of Commons."

It gives me particular pleasure in being the humble instrument appointed to convey the above resolution to the first literary character of his day, and for whom I entertain sentiments of the highest respect and admiration.

I have the honour to be,

Dear sir,

Your very obedient servant,

EDWARD DWYER.

Sec. A. T. Association of Ireland.

William Cobbett, Esq. M.P.,

&c. &c. &c.

TO

MR. EDWARD DWYER,

*Secretary of the Anti-Tory Association
of Ireland.*

Normandy Farm, 17. Feb., 1835.

DEAR SIR.—I have duly received your letter, dated in Dublin, on the 13. of this month, inclosing a vote of thanks of your Association to me, for my having advocated the rights of the people of Ireland, and expressing the conviction of the Association, that I should be found amongst those "Liberals," whose exertions will be used in the House of Commons, to prevent the appointment of Mr. MANNERS SUTTON to the office of Speaker of the House.

Sir, in the first place, permit me to express my sorrow that there should exist



an association in any part of the kingdom, whose professed object is to raise and support a cry against any portion of the members of Parliament, under any name or denomination whatsoever. I never belonged to any club or association of any description, in the whole course of my life; and I never knew, in the end, any good to arise from any such combination. Party has well been denominated "the delusion of the many for the gain of a few"; and such I have always observed it to be.

In the next place, sir, you call upon me to join the *Liberals*. I have always detested the word: it means any thing, or nothing, just as the parties please: it is a word which is used in France by those infamous rulers who compel the journalists each to be a fund-holder to the amount of four thousand eight hundred pounds sterling, as one of the conditions on which he is allowed to print; and who are the "*Liberals*" whom your Association is convinced I shall join upon this occasion? Surely not those who brought in, and carried through, the Irish Coercion Bill; and whose *predecessors* (in 1807) framed the *very first* Coercion Bill that ever was proposed for Ireland! Surely, not those men whom Mr. O'CONNELL denominated the basest and blackest of tyrants, and the very first King's speech of whose advising, he very justly denominated a "bloody speech"! Surely, not those men, whose "*vigour*" sent three hundred English labourers into slavery (the greater part of them for life), leaving behind them upwards of seven hundred fatherless children, nearly two hundred husbandless wives, and more than a hundred and fifty broken-hearted parents! Surely, not these "*Liberals*"; surely, not those vigorous "*Liberals*," who rejected our numerous and pathetic petitions to spare the poor Dorsetshire labourers, whose only offence was, that of endeavouring, without any violence whatsoever, to obtain a rise in their wages, in contravention of a law, of the existence of which they had no knowledge whatever! Surely, you do not wish me to join men who did this thing, against which my sensible and sincere consti-

tents so loudly and so justly protested, and who gave proof of their sincerity, by raising amongst them two hundred and twenty-five pounds to be sent to the relief of the wives and children of these labourers! Surely, sir, you do not request me to join "*Liberals*" who hatched, who brought in, who pushed on, in the most clandestine manner, a bill, avowedly intended by them, to reduce the working people of England to a coarser sort of food, and who seemed bent upon the project of bringing the working-people of England down to the state of your own wretched countrymen!

Sir, I am much obliged to you for the civil expressions contained in your letter; and I am not at all disposed to impute insincerity either to you, or to the Association of which you are the secretary; but I cannot disguise from myself the fact that, at the very time that you were thus addressing me, the official paper of the Association, namely, the *Pilot*, was pouring forth upon me calumnies as foul as ever appeared in the columns even of an Irish newspaper; imputing to me a desire to perpetuate the Protestant church in Ireland; though I was publishing, at the same time, that nothing could restore peace in Ireland but an abrogation of the Protestant hierarchy; imputing to me a desire to blunt the feelings of the English people towards the Irish, by obtaining for the former plenty of good food, and plenty of good drink; and representing the repeal of the malt-tax as a scheme for inducing the people of England to assent to the upholding of bad government in Ireland. This official paper complains that plenty of beer and of bacon are my sole tests of political good. Add *bread*, if you please; add good clothing, if you please; add, at least, smocks for the women, if you please, and shoes and stockings, and something to cover the head. Add these, together with glass windows to their dwellings; bedsteads and beds and bedding; add a privy to each house; and then your official paper is quite correct: these are, with me, the tests of political good; and, sir, from the bottom of my soul I detest those "*Liberals*," whose schemes embrace nothing but what they call "*intellectual enjoyment*".

ment," while the miserable carcases under their dominion are perishing with hunger and with cold; and who, while they amuse us with the talk of liberality, take care to keep us infested with spies to watch us every moment of our lives.

With regard to my vote, sir, relative to the choice of a Speaker, I beg leave to assure you, that it will not be given without due reflection on what is due from me towards the kingdom in general, and towards my excellent constituents in particular. And, sir, with this assurance,

I remain,
Your most obedient,
and most humble servant,
WM. COBBETT.

TO THE
READERS OF THE REGISTER.

TAKE the following from the DUBLIN "*Pilot*" of the 11. instant; compare it with the letter of Mr. DWYER to me; and be informed that this paper is published by that Mr. BARRETT, who was sent to prison for publishing a letter of Mr. O'CONNELL, and whose is really the official newspaper of this Anti-Tory Association. You will see, that this man is against the repeal of the malt-tax, as being something *injurious to Ireland*. Mr. FINN introduced me to Mr. SMITHWICK, a most respectable gentleman of KILKENNY, who took me to his house, who treated me there in the most kind and generous manner, who treated all my friends that came near me in the same way, at whose house I was visited by two Catholic bishops, and a great many Catholic clergymen. Now, this Mr. SMITHWICK assured me, that the repeal of the malt-tax would be a greater benefit to Ireland than even to England; and I met with no gentleman in Ireland, who felt for the people of that country, who did not say the same thing; it being their conviction that nothing else than the introduction of beer into common use could check the drinking of whiskey, which every one knows to be the greatest of all the curses of that unhappy country. With this fact in your minds, read the

abuse poured out upon me by this profigate hack of the Anti-Tory Association.

TORYISM—IRELAND.

It ought to be deeply impressed upon the people of this country, and actively influence the conduct of their representatives at this juncture, that although the Tory Ministry may usher in its administration for England with some plausible theories of reform, and some immediate relief from obnoxious impost, in order to bribe John Bull into acquiescence, and detach him from the common cause, still that Ireland will, from the very nature of the circumstances with which the Ministers are surrounded, be surrendered to an unmitigated, cruel, and bloody despotism, because it will be surrendered to that atrocious faction, who so long trampled upon this country, and renders it, as if solemnly selected and dedicated to be the future scourge of England. The tenure by which the present Ministers hold office, is to preserve the rotten corporations, and more rotten church of Ireland, and the only expedient which can be suspected even by weakness and wickedness, as affording a chance of this, is to surrender Ireland to the ferocious faction.

This obstinate and insane determination to perpetuate misgovernment involves the other expedient to which we have before alluded, namely, to bribe the English by vague promises of reform, and some actual relief from burden at first, to acquiesce in the trampling down of Ireland. We shall, therefore, not be surprised to find the parliamentary campaign opened by the Tory Ministry with something to win the English.

Mr. Cobbett, we perceive, with his usual judicious interest for Ireland, kindly suggests a plan for the Tories to effect the very thing we would guard against. In the last number of *Cobbett's Register* he calls upon the Ministers immediately to remit the malt-tax, expressly for the purpose of stopping John Bull's mouth, and enabling the Ministers to perpetuate the church and every other abuse. He says distinctly, that if the English got this beverage cheap and

plenty—with the foaming tankard in his hand, John Bull would not care a farthing for the church, and, of course, in that case, Ireland may whistle for any chance of amelioration, for no whistling would enable her to procure it, standing, as he then implies we should stand, unaided and alone. We thank Mr. Cobbett, on behalf of Ireland, for his kindness to us. We have long been accustomed to similar favours from his hands occasionally, and particularly on vital junctures for Ireland. It may do very well for Mr. Cobbett, whose world seems to be the English bolters of bacon—for Mr. Cobbett, who declares a peasant has no business to read—for him who writes, as if beer and bacon were the sole end, object, and test of political good, and big blubber cheeks the sole end and test of plenty of beer and bacon—for him who, with all his cleverness, maintains various other positions in politics, most peculiar certainly, if not most absurd, mischievous, and untenable—for such a man to seize upon the present critical juncture, at the expense of Ireland and reform, to throw out a lure to procure for his chaw-bacons the sole end and object, according to him, of human existence, is natural enough, and, with his avowed English predilections, may be, perhaps, in him justifiable. But as we have a different estimate of political good from this clever writer—as we hold Ireland, subordinate as her interests may be thought in a political sense, as the chief object of our interest—as we fancy intellectual freedom to be a human good as well as a full belly, and that a thin freeman may be as happy as a fat slave—as we estimate the supply of the comforts of life not alone by their immediate enjoyment, but by the security with which they may be enjoyed, which security cannot exist without protection and equal law—we protest against the efficacy of this Cobbett receipt for preserving the church and all other abuses. On the contrary we see in those abuses, to be so preserved, not only actual grievances, but buttresses of oligarchical power, the instigating motive and operative means by which all abuses are upheld.

Should Mr. Cobbett succeed in his

advice—should his plan be adopted by the Tories—should they be able to make the English people the swilling, fat, slothful, and contented beasts which seems to be Mr. Cobbett's *beau ideal* of peasant perfection—should the English operatives, bribed by the foaming tankard, remain passive, while Ireland was mutilating, and English abuses consolidating, the foaming tankard itself would be a fleeting enjoyment. The power which took it away before would take it away again, when the apathy engendered by the opiate had prostrated the guzzlers at the feet of the oligarchy. That oligarchy exists but to luxuriate on the poor man's comforts, and, in yielding a portion for a season of its spoils only does so as a lure to cement the power by which it will hereafter be enabled to take them back again.

Why do we allude so pointedly to this scheme? Because we believe it will be attempted, and because it should operate as an additional stimulant to induce every Irishman to meet the danger on the very threshold—to rally to the first struggle, and beat down the tyranny before it has time—with the aid of Cobbett—to detach the democracy of England by the sop of cheap *hale*. To your posts, then, sons of Ireland, and on the nineteenth of February declare, in the rejection of the Tory Speaker, that Toryism itself, which prepares this lure, must give way before it has time to carry its devices into effect. There is no device—no illusion—no bribe, which Toryism will not employ to procure even the absence of Reformers on that occasion. Those who are absent will, therefore, play the game of treason, and must endure the opprobrium of traitors. There can be no half measures—no excuses now, when Ireland, free and tranquil, because well governed—or Ireland surrendered to the devastating misgovernment of a blood-thirsty faction, instigating a hideous convulsion—are the questions to be decided, perhaps by the first division. By this test the sincerity of every Irish liberal member will be tried. Will he or will he not be present the first day of the opening of Parliament, and vote on the first division against Toryism? He who

does this is for, and he who neglects it is against Ireland. Never, never shall he be forgiven.

PEOPLE OF OLDHAM.

I HAVE often boasted of the character of my constituents ; I insert the following paragraph, not only as proof of the correctness of my opinion with regard to that character ; but in the hope that their conduct may be an *example* to the rest of the nation ; and, if that example were followed by only one-half of the nation, we should not be long in the perilous and miserable state in which we now are. I take the paragraph from a MANCHESTER paper.

LORD FRANCIS EGERTON'S VISIT TO OLDHAM.

On Wednesday last, Lord Francis Egerton and his appendage, the Hon. Mr. Wilbraham, paid a reluctant and tardy visit to Oldham, for the purpose of paying their court to the electors of that town and neighbourhood. A number of their friends were collected to receive them in the Grammar-school, where Lord Francis made a speech of some length, avowing himself a conservative, and a reformer, and in short going over the ground which he had travelled on several former occasions. Mr. Wilbraham followed, but contented himself by saying "ditto" to Lord Francis. A number of questions were then put to the two candidates by Messrs. Knight, Halliday, Knott, and Halliwell, which Lord Egerton was kind enough to answer both for himself and his colleague. After the meeting was over, the friends of the two candidates repaired to the Angel Inn, where a collation had been prepared for them. In this, of course, there was nothing to blame ; but during the time the party were at the inn, something took place which is deserving of the most severe reprehension, as the commencement of a practice in the election for this division which we had hoped would never have found a footing there. A number of people being assembled round the inn, a quantity of ale was let down by a string

from one of the windows, which was very soon drunk by some ostlers and coach-cads, who were waiting about. Immediately afterwards a *barrel of ale* was sent into the street, with a supply of mugs, and an invitation for all to partake who might feel inclined to do so. To the great honour of the working people of Oldham, however, with the exception of the loose fellows above mentioned, not a man was inclined to taste it ; and the beer was at last sent back into the house untouched. A number of men were then sent out of the house with large cans of beer, which they offered to distribute amongst the crowd ; but with the exception of some thirty or forty of the very lowest of the populace, nobody tasted it ; every decent working man who was present feeling an honest indignation at this scandalous attempt to introduce the old Tory practice of bribing them by liquor. A second barrel was afterwards brought into the street, but with no better success than the first ; indeed it was with some difficulty that the people were prevented from bursting it ; and they did overturn many of the cans that were sent out of the house. All these disgraceful proceedings, we believe, passed under the eyes of Lord Francis Egerton ; and, of course, we must presume that they were done with his concurrence. If, however, he expected to obtain popularity by them, he must have been undeceived on his departure ; for instead of cheers from the people who were assembled in the streets, he received, on entering his carriage, a volley of hisses and groans, which over-powered the greetings of his Tory friends. We understand, too, that many of the electors, who were previously inclined to vote for his lordship, have had their intentions entirely changed by this first attempt to introduce a scandalous system of drunkenness and riot into the proceedings of a Lancashire county election.

CHURCH REFORM.

READER, first I beg you to read the following two articles, and to observe well the sources from which they come. The one is from the *John Bull*; which is

emphatically called the parson's paper; the other is an extract from the *Salisbury Journal*.

(From the *John Bull*, 15. Feb. 1835.)

" Amongst the many inquiries that " have been, or may be, set on foot, re- " lative to the affairs of the church, it " seems to us that as useful a one as any, " would be to ascertain, by a commission, " whether the lay-impropriators observe " the conditions on which Henry VIII. " granted to their ancestors various ab- " bey-lands, tithes, and other ecclesiasti- " cal revenues. It is tolerably certain " that the King did not grant a *greater* " interest in these possessions, than he " himself therein had: that there were " conditions annexed to this property, " when these revenues came into posses- " sion of the crown, may be seen by a " reference to the statute.

" An Act of Parliament would easily " supply any defect in the common law " to remove any gross neglect that may " be discovered amongst this class, who " possess no small share of ecclesiastical " revenue."

(From the *Salisbury Journal*, 9. Feb. 1835.)

" The following account of the situa- " tion of a minister of the established " church, by the Rev. Canon Bowles, of " Salisbury, cannot fail to be read with " peculiar interest at the present mo- " ment:—' Not one clergyman in twenty " has one-fourth or one-fifth of tithes at " all. The clergy visit the sick; the " clergyman is at his post; the clergy- " man, standing between the rich and " poor, is, in remote parishes (of course " there are exceptions), the poor man's " only friend. Yet the tithes—the great " tithes—are paid at the highest value, " in most cases, to some distant lay-impro- " priator. Between Bath and Marlborough, " every living is in other hands than " those of the clergyman. Corsham is " scarcely worth 200*l.* a year to the vicar; " but the rector, a gallant and amiable " admiral, whose parish is the Atlantic or " Mediterranean (Sir Harry B. Neale), " receives 3,000*l.* a year! Crewkerne, " in Somerset, the same; Ilminster the " same; Marshwood, in Dorset, the

" same: the lay-impropriators are the " rectors, living at a distance, and yet " receiving much. Respecting the latter " place,—poor Marshwood—the last Mi- " nister that did duty there was John " Brice, M.A., of Magdalen College, Ox- " ford, whence he was ejected in 1662. " Singular enough, the same year the " church fell down, and nothing has since " been done to rebuild it; and now the " spot can scarcely be traced—*perierte* " *ruinae*—where it stood, and *there* the " cattle graze where 'the rude forefathers " of the hamlet sleep.'

" There, the sound of a church-going bell, " Its fields and its woods never hear; " Never sigh at the sound of a knell, " Or smile when the Sabbaths appear.

" Thus (exclaims Mr. Bowles), not only " all the lands are taken away, but most " of the tithes; and the clergyman might " well say, ' Give me back *half* you took " from me—excuse me from paying poor- " rates—Government taxes of all kinds— " keep my house in repair—educate my " children—provide for my wife and chil- " dren only some independent comforts " when I am dead, and most cheerfully " would I pay for the repairs of the whole " church, as I now do of the chancel and " the parsonage-house, keep *all* the sick, " aged, and needy poor, give the bishop " *half* instead of a quarter, and pay the " first-fruits and tenths—*bond fide, ad* " *valorem*—into the bargain.' This is " the proper way of meeting the objec- " tion; but though there are so many " well-informed gentlemen in the House " of Commons, and many who would be " inclined to answer, or glad to hear " these charges answered, the obvious " refutation has not been satisfactorily " brought forward in that assembly. And " yet *one* has done it—the last man that " could have been expected to do it— " Mr. Cobbett: no clergyman's friend; " and his speech roused more *bile* in " certain quarters than ever did a speech " within the walls of Parliament."

Wonders will never cease! The very thing which is here said by the *John Bull*, I say, only more elaborately, and producing proof for what I say, in the *Introduction to the second volume of the*

PROTESTANT REFORMATION. The speech, of which Mr. Canon Bowles speaks, was not a speech, but a proviso, proposed to be inserted in the Poor-law Amendment Bill, and which was in somewhat the following words: "Provided always, that, "in all assessments to be hereafter made "for the relief of the poor, the overseers "of each parish shall, before they make "any assessment on any other property "in the parish, assess the incumbent of "the living to the amount of one-third "part of the annual worth of the said "living; that he shall also assess all "lay-tithes and abbey-lands in the said "parish, to the amount of one-third part "of their annual rent, or profit; that he "shall then, if more be still needed, as- "sess all the other real property of the "parish, including the revenue of the "incumbent, and the rent of the lay- "tithes and abbey-lands; seeing that, "according to the statutes, and to the "common law, one third part of the "annual worth of the living, as well as "one-third part of the annual worth of "the lay-tithes and the abbey-lands, are "already applicable to the relief of the "poor, if so much be needed for that "purpose."

This is the thing that Mr. Canon Bowles alludes to; and that it did stir up a good deal of "*bile*" there can be no doubt. However, to this, if not to more than this, it must come at last: the apostacies and the plunderings of the savage tyrant, Henry the 8th, and of his miserable and wicked children, have yet to be atoned for. The effect of those plunderings has been working along from that day to this; and it may be truly said of the inheritors of this plundered property: "The fathers ate sour grapes, and "the children's teeth have been set on "edge."

When I first mentioned this matter; when I first asked men to look at the conditions upon which lay-tithes and abbey-lands were granted; I was looked upon as a sort of antiquarian, talking of things, very curious, but of no use. It has amused me to perceive how the nation has been approaching, by degrees, to the point at which it is now arrived. I told Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in 1828, that

he had made the first step towards bringing us to the abbey-lands. We took up the step from him, and we have been marching on ever since. Our strides have lately been very long, and have been taken very quickly; and the *John Bull* seems to be got pretty nearly to the end of the journey, to which I welcome him, with all my heart. Ah! it was sure to be thus: neither church, nor anything else of an establishment, can stand before a money-monster of eight hundred millions.

CHURCH REFORM COM- MISSION.

THE following is the commission; but it will effect nothing to give any satisfaction to the people:

WHITEHALL, 3. FEB. 1835.—The King has been pleased to direct letters patent to be passed under the Great Seal, appointing his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Right Hon. Lord Lyndhurst, Lord High Chancellor, his Grace the Archbishop of York, the Right Hon. the Earl of Harrowby, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of London, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Lincoln, the Right Rev. Lord Bishop of Gloucester, the Right Hon. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., the Right Hon. Henry Goulburn, the Right Hon. Charles Watkin Williams Wynn, the Right Hon. Henry Hobhouse, and the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Jenner, knt., his Majesty's Commissioners for considering the state of the several dioceses in England and Wales, with reference to the amount of their revenues, to the more equal distribution of episcopal duties, and to the prevention of the necessity of attaching, by commendam, to bishoprics, benefices with cure of souls; also for considering the state of the several cathedral and collegiate churches within the same, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church; and for devising the best mode of providing for the cure of

souls, with special reference to the residence of the clergy on their respective benefices.

SEED BAGS.

Normandy Farm, 14. February, 1835.

The following is a list of the Seeds in the bag. A copy of it will be found in each bag. Each bag is 10s. 6d. There are *no larger bags*; because it has been found inconvenient; and, in the case of **LARGE GARDENS**, two or three bags may be had; which will be convenient, too, for *different sowings*. I trust that the Seeds will now be found to be *safely done up*; and I pledge myself for their *goodness*. The *number* on the bags tells the *sort* that is within. Owing to an accident, the list is *not quite alphabetical*; but, this is of no importance.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Windsor Bean.
3. Long-pod Bean.
4. Early Masagan Bean.
5. Scarlet Running Kidney Bean.
6. White Running Kidney Bean.
7. Black Dwarf Kidney Bean.
8. Dun ditto
9. Speckled ditto.
10. Beet, blood Red.
11. White Brocoli.
12. Purple ditto.
13. Early York Cabbage.
14. Savoy.
15. Scotch Cale.
16. Carrot.
17. Cauliflower.
18. Celery.
19. Chervil.
20. Cress.
21. Endive.
22. Leek.
23. White Coss Lettuce.
24. Mustard.
25. Onion.
26. Parsnip.
27. Parsley.
28. Knight Pea.
29. Early Scarlet Radish.
30. White Turnip Radish.

31. Spinage.
32. Squash.
33. Garden Turnip.
34. Cucumber.
35. Green Cabbage Lettuce.
36. Green Coss Lettuce.
37. Cobbett Corn.
38. Early Dwarf Cabbage.
39. Early Battersea Cabbage.
40. Early-frame Pea.
41. Dwarf Marrowfat Pea.
42. Tall Marrowfat Pea.

N.B. I have no *Cis-Alpine Strawberry Seed*; but, packets of *fine plants*, at 2s. 6d. each packet; which will bear great crops this year. To be had at Bolt-court.

MEETING OF WEAVERS' DELEGATES.

ON Monday, a meeting of the delegates from the different districts in Paisley, and the west country towns, took place in the Saracen's Head Inn. The business was opened by Mr. John Mitchell, chairman of the committee; after which Mr. Archibald Mavor was called to preside. He stated that an address, expressive of their opinion of Mr. Maxwell's services had been drawn up, and would be read to them. This meeting took place for the purpose of taking into consideration what measures it might be necessary to adopt previous to the meeting of Parliament, to obtain the assistance and co-operation of those who are friendly to the appointment of Local Boards of Trade for the regulation of weavers' wages.

Letters were read from Sir M. S. Stewart, member for the county, from A. G. Spiers, Esq., member for Paisley, and from Robert Wallace, Esq., member for Greenock, which stated, that in consequence of particular engagements, they could not attend, but that they were willing to lend their aid to carry the proposed measure into effect.

The secretary, Mr. M'Farlane, said, that they were all aware of the difficulties under which Mr. Maxwell laboured in bringing their case before Parliament, and obtaining an investigation into the

cause of their distress. It appeared to be the opinion of many of the members of Parliament, that the hand-loom weavers were a class that were unworthy to be listened to. They knew that their friend, Mr. Maxwell, had taken a warm interest in their affairs on many occasions, and he thought that they were more indebted to that gentleman than to any other member of Parliament. (Great applause).

Mr. JAMES YOUNG read the address, which was carried by acclamation.

Mr. MAXWELL said that he considered that he had simply done his duty in the exertions which he had made in behalf of the hand-loom weavers, whose condition was so hurtful to the rest of the community, and he thought that it was impossible that the state of suffering to which they were reduced could continue, without the whole interests of the empire being affected by it. In bringing their case before Parliament, he had to contend with a strong opposition, for there were men who appeared to look on weavers as mere machines, not much removed from the brute animal. There were men, who by looking into books of political economy, had received impressions which steeled their hearts against the sufferings of their fellow-creatures, much in the same way as if they were reading of some disaster that had happened in the Atlantic ocean, or most distant part of the world. But from whatever cause this apathy had arisen, it was evidently at variance with the rights of society, and the principles of the Christian religion, for it was unjust in principle, and unfair in practice. He had particularly directed his attention to the condition of the hand-loom weavers, since his return from the metropolis. With the view to obtain as accurate information as possible, he had always attended their meetings, not fearing to come into contact with them, though he had been sorry to observe so many of them with ragged clothes, in consequence of their want of means, and he would have been glad to have seen those meetings better attended by persons of influence. He had found men among the weavers as intelligent as many of those who had better opportunities of acquiring intellectual knowledge. In urging their claims for legislative in-

terference, he had not found that support from the press which he had expected, with the exception of the *True Sun*, and sometimes a paragraph in the *Morning Chronicle*. He had been opposed, too, by those politicians who advocated the principles of the free trade system, but he trusted that this opposition would give way, and that, considering the urgency of the case, they would consent to allow a trial to be made of the Local Boards of Trade. He hoped that they would have the pleasure of seeing this measure receive the sanction of Parliament in the ensuing session. He did not wish them to array themselves as political partisans, but to take every fair and reasonable means to state their grievances. He did not wish them to supplicate the Government as humble dependants, but to point out in strong and becoming language the right they had to have their labour protected as fully as any other property in the country. He thought they had a right to show, as had been already shown, that the claims of half a million of men ought to be attended to. They had a right to point out to other classes the inevitable consequences that must arise to them if the wages of the hand-loom weavers are not improved. Should this not take place, other classes will be brought down to the same level, they were all embarked in the same vessel, and must sink or swim together. The great object was not merely to save them from sinking, but to raise them in the scale of society. He had appealed frequently to that class who live on the taxes, not to allow the case of the hand-loom weavers to be neglected, for it was by restoring a competency to them, that they would best insure the value of their own properties. He had got an admission from a great man among them, that this state of things should not be allowed to continue. If they could but be brought to look to their own interests, they would see the necessity of this. It would only have the effect of making them pay a little more for those articles of dress which were worn by their wives and daughters. These considerations should stimulate every man with a well constituted mind to lend his aid in bettering the condition of the hand-loom weavers. They were a valuable

class of men, and many of them had fought and bled in the service of their country; let, therefore, some little thousandth part of the wealth of the rich flow back among them. He recommend them in this case, in making their application to the present Government, to act in the same manner as they did with the last, there may be men among them that may be induced to listen to their claims, but if there was one class more than another that ought to support their claims, it was the agriculturists. Were the weavers paid adequately for their labour, the farmer would be the first to feel this in the increased demand for his wheat, his butter, and his cheese: it was his interest that they should be as happy and comfortable as himself. He recommended them to make a call on the little stock-jobber, on shopkeepers, and every person that could have any influence in advancing their claims. There was one class that were able to lend them valuable aid, could they be induced to come forward—the clergy of Scotland—but he was sorry to say that he had received little assistance from them. He hoped that he did not do them injustice in stating this, but he thought that it was their duty to have come forward and petitioned in favour of the hand-loom weavers. He thanked them for the flattering manner in which they had spoken of his services. He begged leave to take this opportunity of stating that he had received valuable assistance from two members of Parliament—Mr. Fielden and Mr. Brotherton, the former of whom had made great exertions to shorten the hours of labour. The object that he and others had in view, was the same as had been carried into effect in this town, and had been acted upon for a number of years. All that was wished was, that the manufacturers should have a fair profit, and the weaver a fair remuneration for his labour as the state of trade would warrant. Mr. Fielden was perhaps the fittest member to advocate their cause, as he was an extensive proprietor of cotton-mills, and a manufacturer of cloth by power-looms, and employed 1100 hands, and on that account would be listened to with more attention than any other member, supported as he

would be by a number of intelligent manufacturers. If the plan of Boards of Trade was adopted, it would check the efforts of those who, instead of being free traders, he looked upon as freebooters. He recommended them to address Lord Stanley (who was a nobleman of extensive influence), and Mr. Fielden, the latter of whom was better qualified than any other member to support their views in the House of Commons. He (Mr. M.) recommended them to make an early application to Mr. Fielden. After a number of other observations, for which we cannot find room, he concluded by stating, that if he could be of any use in furthering their cause, they might command his services in the matter. During his speech, the hon. member was frequently interrupted by the applause of the meeting.

Mr. JOHN WOOD, in a neat speech, introduced the first resolution. He hoped that a brighter era was before them, and that by the exertions of the reformed Parliament, their condition would be improved, and the comfort of their families increased.

1st. "That the end and design of all government is to afford protection to the subject, more especially to prevent the wealthy and powerful from encroaching on the rights of the poor and defenceless, and as the hand-loom weavers of the United Kingdom amount to upwards of 500,000 artizans, the production of whose labour is as necessary to the comfort, convenience, and elegance of society, as that of any other art in the country, we therefore consider that we are justly entitled to receive in return a compensation equal to the wants of our existence."

Mr. A. Campbell, from Johnstone, seconded the resolution in a speech which excited considerable applause. He had expected to have seen six members of Parliament present, and felt much disappointed that none of them had attended but their friend Mr. Maxwell, whom he highly complimented for his great exertions.

Mr. David Allan, from Glasgow, proposed the second resolution. He entered into a short history of the efforts which had from time to time been made by the hand-loom weavers to better their con-

dition, which had led to the efforts now making to obtain the sanction of Parliament for local boards of trade. He drew an affecting picture of the wretched condition of the weavers in Glasgow and its neighbourhood, and the helpless state of their families. He said that neither tea, sugar, nor any of the products of the dairy, found their way to their tables, except buttermilk, that wheaten bread, which was now so cheap, was also a stranger at their board, and might be packed up in bales and sent along with their cotton goods to America. He concluded by calling upon them to support with energy the efforts which were to be made by Mr. Maxwell, Mr. Fielden, and others, in their favour.

2d. "That our labour, although the demand for it has been progressively increasing, has, under the influence of circumstances over which we have not had sufficient control, been depreciated much below the general value of labour in the country; the consequence of which is, that we are not only rendered unable to maintain ourselves and families in an honest and respectable manner, but our abridged income has operated much against the moral, educational, agricultural, commercial, and financial interests of the country."

Mr. WILSON seconded the resolution. He said that within the last fifty years, this country had made such improvements as should have greatly tended to better the condition of the people, but such has not been the case, but he hoped, by the exertions of their friends in Parliament, their condition would be improved.

Mr. WILKIE moved the third resolution. He observed that competition had been carried to such a ruinous extent as greatly to deteriorate the comforts of the people. He pointed out the effects that this system, if continued, would have on the morals of the weaving population. All that they wanted was protection for a Board of Trade to regulate their wages, which was no new plan, as it had been in operation and had wrought well for several years.

3rd. "That the ruinous reduction of our wages is principally occasioned by an

uncontrolled system of competition, which prevails among our employers, whereby an unprincipled, or undermining manufacturer, has an opportunity of reducing the price of our labour, in proportion as he inclines to amass a fortune, or obtain a market for his goods, by underselling his more honourable neighbours. Therefore it is our decided opinion, that Boards of Trade for regulating the price of our labour, are absolutely necessary to check this pernicious practice, protect the honourable trader, give stability to the trade generally, and save the hand-loom weavers from absolute misery."

Mr. COCHRAN, from Barrhead, seconded the resolution, and supported the proposed plan as being well calculated to better their condition in society.

Mr. JAMES ORR moved the 4th resolution, which he fully approved of. It had been stated that the end of all government was the benefit of the people, therefore Government should always listen to their complaints, and adopt such measures as were best calculated to mitigate their sufferings. He paid a high compliment to Mr. Maxwell, and those gentlemen who had supported him, and believed that the weavers of Scotland were not aware of the zeal, diligence, and perseverance which had been manifested by them. He read several extracts from the speech delivered by Mr. Maxwell in Parliament, on moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the cause of the distress that existed among the hand-loom weavers. He made some remarks on the currency question, as having had a material influence in the reduction of their wages. Since the opening up of the silk trade with France, the price of these goods in this country had declined to an extent of thirty-three per cent. on plain, and fifty on fancy articles.

4th. "That the cordial thanks of this meeting are due to those members who so ably supported Mr. Maxwell in the committee, namely, Mr. Wallace, Sir M. Stewart, Mr. Gillon, Sir D. K. Sandford, Mr. Halliburton, Mr. R. Oswald, Lord James Steuart, Mr. Cawley, Mr. Bulwer, Mr. Fielden, Mr. Fleetwood, Mr. Brotherton, and Mr. Stanley."

Mr. JOHN ORR, Kilbirnie, seconded the

resolution. A deputation had waited on Mr. Oswald, member for Ayrshire, to ask his support. He stated that he could not say that he understood the question, but had corresponded with Mr. Fielden, and would be guided by him.

Mr. KERR, Stewarton, corroborated the last speaker, and stated that he was instructed to return the thanks of the weavers of Stewarton to Mr. Maxwell for his great exertions. Mr. Oswald stated to them that he would cheerfully support the contemplated measure.

Mr. J. YOUNG proposed the fifth resolution. He entered at some length upon the merits of the question, took a view of the objections which had been made to boards of trade, and endeavoured to obviate them. He made some remarks on the general good feelings which prevailed among the manufacturers.

5th. "That a memorial to the King, and petitions to both Houses of Parliament, from each district connected with our union, founded on these resolutions, be presented at an early period of the ensuing session, and also, that we will request our magistrates, landlords, and merchants to support the prayer of our memorials."

Mr. JOHN ROBERTSON seconded the resolution. He cordially supported a board of trade, which would prevent avaricious individuals from reducing the weaver's wages.

Mr. JOHN CRAIG moved the sixth resolution, as being a measure which was indispensably necessary. Were the price on indentures lowered from 1*l.* to 5*s.* he believed that they would be increased from one to fifty, or even 100 more than at present, which would be a most important benefit to the trade, the beneficial effects of which would soon be felt.

6th. "That petitions to both Houses of Parliament, for a reduction of the stamp duties on apprentices' indentures, be presented on an early period of the session."

Mr. JAMES FLEMING seconded the resolution, as being one of much utility. Great evils had arisen from the system of taking apprentices without regular indentures; he could not, however, but advert to the evils which machinery had intro-

duced. Old people and young persons found it difficult to procure employment at the loom, the fabrics which they used to work at being now manufactured in power-loom factories. He stated, that in consequence of the avarice of a few individuals, by the introduction of the French cutting machine, 2,000 females had been thrown out of work; and if some means were not taken to procure employment for them, no person could say what would be the result. Merchants, grocers, and even the church itself, would be affected, if some measures were not taken to check this system. For how could the females pay for their seats in places of worship, when their means of subsistence were taken from them?

Mr. HUGH KERR thought the last speaker had wandered from the point before them, which was to take measures to obtain a Board of Trade. He thought that this was the last place to speak against machinery.

Mr. FLEMING explained, by observing, that there was nothing in the resolution against machinery, yet he thought that he was at liberty to state the matter in his own way, as he considered its introduction to be the source of great evil.

Mr. MAXWELL said he would support the last resolution in Parliament with the greatest pleasure. He had been told by Mr. Bulwer, one of the members for Coventry, that the gentlemen were beginning to see that the principles of free trade had been carried too far, and that in consequence of its effects; the people could not pay their local taxes. He pointed out, at some length, the close connexion that ought to exist between the commercial and agricultural interests, because some persons had endeavoured to make it appear that they were very different. The importation of corn would not benefit the farmer, nor the bringing in of manufactured goods benefit the weaver. Their best plan was to see that they obtained a fair remuneration for their labour, and not work too long hours. After a few remarks on the currency question, and the low rates of wages, which had proceeded from the effects of Peel's Bill, he stated that in the inquiries which he had made into the condition of the working

classes in this town and neighbourhood, he had received very valuable information from Sheriff Campbell, William Barr, Esq., Provost Orr, and Hugh Macfarlane, Esq., all of whom were entitled to their thanks. Votes of thanks were accordingly put from the chair to these gentlemen, and carried by acclamation.

Mr. BARR observed that his attendance here to-day was quite accidental. Hearing that his Hon. Friend was present, he had come among them, and had listened with great satisfaction to their deliberations. There was no class in the community in which he felt and had a right to feel such a warm interest. He had heard with pleasure their extensive information on the principles of trade. He had stated his opinions on the proposed formation of a Board of Trade to Mr. Gillon and other members of Parliament, and had impressed on them the propriety of giving the plan a fair trial as a temporary measure. He had told them, that there was no class of tradesmen that required their support more, and were better entitled to it, than the hand-loom weavers of Scotland. He had lately been in a warehouse in Paisley which was filled with goods, and was told by the manufacturers that they were produced at a cheaper rate than could be done by power-looms. He thought that no man should be allowed to make use of his capital in a trade that could not afford more wages for a week's labour than 3s. or 3s. 6d. The effects of the Board of Trade would enable them to obtain something like a fair and reasonable remuneration for their labours.—They had been met by Mr. Hume, who was a most determined enemy to Boards of Trade, and other supporters of the Free Trade System, by the assertion that a measure of this kind would drive the trade to foreign countries—but they ought never to have brought the trade of this country into competition with French manufacturers, until they had taken off a large proportion of the taxes. There were several causes which operated against their trade—but the great cause was the taxes; for he did not think that this country could have stood the struggle so long without the aid of machinery. He would remind

them that the one half of the money which they expended in tea and coffee, sugar and soap, found its way back to the Treasury.—They had three things to contend against—power-loom weaving—competition—but above all the taxes. He concluded by stating, that he had some practical knowledge of the trade, and had furnished his hon. friend with several interesting facts, relative to the prices of weaving at various periods.—(Mr. Barr sat down amidst great applause.)

Mr Maxwell observed that there were various ways of obtaining relief, one of which was a property-tax; in short, means must be adopted to take the taxes off the shoulders of the working classes, and place them more on the dead weight. He had voted for the repeal of the malt tax, and likewise supported a property tax. He concluded by proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman, who had conducted the proceedings with much ability. (Carried with great applause). The Chairman thanked them for their favourable opinion, and said, that they had always conducted themselves with propriety. The business commenced at twelve o'clock, and Mr. Maxwell did not leave the meeting until half-past five.

After Mr. Maxwell retired, a committee was appointed, to examine Mr. Fielden's Bill, and co-operate with the Glasgow Committees, in endeavouring to introduce into it any improvements which might be considered necessary, and a deputation, who had called on Mr. Galloway, Convener of the shawl manufacturers, stated that that gentleman had promised to them, that he would if possible get the shawl table with the signatures of the Manufacturers attached, published in the papers on Saturday, shortly after which the meeting broke up.

TO JOHN MAXWELL, ESQ., OF
POLLOCK,
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT FOR THE
COUNTY OF LANARK.

SIR,—The delegates of the hand-loom weavers in connexion with the Paisley Association, on meeting with you on this auspicious occasion, would beg leave to

present you their most cordial thanks for the very able and zealous manner in which you have laid their long-neglected sufferings and privations before Parliament; and while they do so, they cannot but remark that in pursuing your laudable object, you displayed a generosity and firmness which eventually overcome all obstacles, and has indelibly engraven your name on the hearts of that unfortunate class whose cause you so nobly advocated.

It was for a long period a prevalent opinion among the hand-loom weavers, that the ears of their representatives were closed against their sufferings. That Government cared nothing for them further than as they served the state in contributing to the Exchequer, or filling the ranks of the army, and that but for these considerations, they would be left to pine in still greater wretchedness and misery. But, sir, we are agreeably undeceived on finding that you have taken up our case with an energy and ability worthy of one of the people's representatives, worthy of those patriots whose names shall descend to posterity with increasing renown, and we cherish the fond hope that notwithstanding the opposition you have received from free trade theorists, and others, whose opposition we do not attribute to any hostile feelings towards our claims, but to erroneous views of the subject that you will unceasingly persevere, always remembering that no patriot or philanthropist was ever suffered to prosecute his laudable designs without interruption and opposition. That no measure, however just, politic, or expedient, ever passed into a law without opposition, especially no measure in which the employer and the employed seemed to stand opposite to each other, however flimsy the grounds for such an opinion might be; and we think that we have shown to Parliament and the country at large, that there is nothing inimical to our employers in our requests. Yes, sir, we feel strong in the justness of our claims. We have wives, we have children, we have fathers, we have mothers, for whom we have to provide, and if it be true that our wages are altogether inadequate to support ourselves and those our near dear relatives dependent on us, would it be unjust, would

it be impolitic, would it be inexpedient in Government to interfere and endeavour to raise the wages of half a million of industrious and ingenious artizans who are placed in these unhappy circumstances? And if it be true that these ill-fated artizans have not demanded an advance of wages, but only requested the Legislature to interfere and prevent unprincipled masters from taking advantage of their necessities, where is the man, or the body of men, or the Government, that will reject their claims, and allow evil men to roam and prey upon their poverty and defencelessness? We trust that such a system will be no longer tolerated, but that oppression and competition will, ere long, be compelled to hide their diminished heads together in the shades of oblivion.

We rejoice, Sir, that while you stood forth and made the ears of the British Senate tingle with the details of our wrongs and sufferings, that you stood not alone—that other noble spirits co-operated with you, among whom we are proud to name Mr. Wallace, Sir M. S. Stewart, Mr. Gillon, Mr. Fielden, and many other honourable gentlemen, whom we ever shall affectionately remember for their able and diligent services both in the House and in the Committee of Enquiry. And we feel assured that when they are called to resume their Parliamentary duties, they will assist you in showing the Representatives of the United Kingdom, that measures must be taken to regulate the prices of hand-loom weaving, and check the demoralizing and distressing tendencies of home-competition.

Sir, in concluding, we again tender you our most sincere thanks, we shall ever cherish your memory, and tell our posterity of your generous actions. May the Supreme Being long bless us with your support, and when you come to the close of your earthly career, we trust you shall not grieve that you have spent much of your strength, time, and means, in laying before the public the distresses of an unfortunate class of society, and endeavouring to ameliorate their condition. Such acts of kindness will impart to your bosom more heartfelt satisfaction, and confer on you more lasting honour than

either wealth, title, or power can bestow. May you long occupy an honourable place in the Legislative Council of this great and enlightened nation, and still as you return in the intervals of public duty to the venerable abode of your forefathers, may you be accompanied by the approbation and gratitude of your country.

Sir, we have the honour to be, in the name of the Hand-loom Weavers connected with Paisley Association,

Your most obedient Servants,

ARCH. MAVOR, Chairman.

JAMES SLATER, Treasurer.

JAMES M·FARLANE, Secretary.

Paisley, 2. Feb. 1835.

THE SPEAKERSHIP.

Lord F. EGERTON rose and addressed Mr. Leigh in a speech of high eulogy upon the merits of the gentleman whom he was about to propose for the choice of the House, as its guide and the protector of its rights and prerogative. (Hear, hear, hear). He hoped that no circumstances would arise to prevent that gentleman from bringing into the new locality those eminent qualifications with which he had for eighteen years adorned the chair in that building which had been destroyed, and which could only be looked upon as a national calamity. (Hear, hear). Having said so much, it was scarcely necessary for him to say that he spoke of Sir C. M. Sutton. (Vehement cheers from the ministerial benches). Without doubt many gentlemen would speak, and, in the heat of argument, speak harshly, and would assert that his honourable Friend was indebted to the kindness of friends and old recollections for support, but the last Parliament could be adduced as a striking proof to the contrary; as the opinions of many of its members would make the qualifications of his hon. Friend clear to all. He thought the honourable House would not condescend to pay any attention to the scurrility and personalities of the public press. For three months nothing had been left undone to blacken the character of his honourable Friend. His private affairs had been pried into; his visits of

business had been misinterpreted; but even from this ordeal he trusted that his hon. Friend had escaped uninjured, and that his public conduct would not be subjected to the test of accounts in the public papers, avowedly put forth to poison the public mind. From this great occasion of the meeting of the House, it becomes us to approach the election of a speaker with calm deliberation, and also one who, on account of his tried ability and experience, is most adapted to conduct the business of the House with that judgment and discretion with which it has been filled. (Hear, hear). I do regret that it has become imperative on me to address you on this question, or that it should not meet wish that unanimity which I think it so well deserves. I do regret, for my own part, that these circumstances should be likely to place us in opposition to many honourable Gentlemen with whom I have been on terms of intimacy, and whom I know, esteem, and regard so much, not as I conceive on one of those questions of great political interest, or of great political discussion, but one on which, I lament to think, that their energies should be lavished and abused, and that it may thereby tend to the collision of parties for whom I entertain marked feelings of friendship and respect. (Hear, hear). At the same time, I do not think that I shall have to hear any of those motions which imply opposition against the motion which I have the honour to submit to the House, founded on any of these charges of notorious absurdity which have found their way into circulation in other quarters, and which, for the last few days, have been before the attention of the public. I do not think that I shall meet with any of those absurd calumnies which have found their way into notice from publications such as the "Mirror of Fashion," and some others which I do not feel myself called upon to name—some of those publications, which gain their mysterious information by tracking out scenes of private life, and reducing them to those purposes which they understand so well. I do not think that I shall have to contradict any of those unfounded imputations, or that the opposition which will

be raised against my right hon. Friend will place its claims on such a source, but on the contrary that the opposition is to be rested on a great public principle. (Tremendous cheering from the opposition benches). I shall content myself by resting his claims on the good sense of this House, and on the known integrity, talent, and courtesy with which he has conducted its business hitherto. The noble Lord whom I believe I may salute as the intended leader of this House (loud cheers from the opposition) whether self-elected (reiterated cheers from the Ministerial benches)—or whether enlisted under the banners of the opposition—amid the clash of weapons, and party strife, I do not know; but it appears he is to be the champion of the party over whom one shout alone predominates, decidedly the shout of a populace, which as yet has been so obscured, that I am left to conjecture about its origin; but which has been promulgated on the hustings to admiring constituents—the principle of condemnation without trial. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches, re-echoed by the Opposition). If this be the principle which is to flash conviction on the doubting, to fix the waverer, and to reinstate the phalanx which by various accidents has been somewhat disbanded, I trust those hon. Gentlemen who support that principle will be able to speak to this House, and to carry that principle into effect without violation of their own consistency, and within the spirit of the principle which on the last occasion they raised very eloquent voices to combat and repudiate; namely, to repudiate political considerations, and the estimation of political opinions on the individual who was to be called to the chair; but to set aside all other considerations of talent, fitness, ability, experience, and even of what may be new to the ear of some gentlemen, considerations of public utility. Before I conclude the observations I have taken the liberty of addressing to the House upon the motion which I am to make, I may beg to express my confidence that I have avoided any expression which may appear to be clothed with disrespect to any gentleman who has been named by

public report as a candidate for the office. I should have been more content, however, if a task so honourable and so completely consonant with my feelings, that of proposing my right hon. Friend for the Chair, had fallen into worthier, and into hands perhaps more exempt from the suspicion of private partiality. I have the satisfaction however of knowing that my execution of this duty, however imperfect, or however unsatisfactory it may have been to myself, will not be unsatisfactory to a large majority of a great constituency that has sent me here. (Hear, hear, hear). At all events, I am satisfied that if the occasion ever arrive, on which I shall have to answer at the bar of offended public opinion for any errors in judgment or feeling, or any incapacity, I trust that this will be the first occasion and the last on which those who blame me will fix. (Hear, hear). I beg to conclude with moving that the right hon. Sir Charles Manners Sutton do take the Chair. (Loud cheers).

Sir CHARLES BURRELL then rose and said—I do not hesitate to offer myself as the seconder of the motion which has been proposed; but I should hesitate to detain the House with a lengthened speech, after the very eloquent one of the Noble Lord. Though differing, in some respects, with the Right Hon. Gentleman whom he has proposed, I beg to express my conviction of his superiority over every other Member of this House to become its chairman, without meaning to disparage any one, or that other Right Hon. Gentleman, for whom I entertain the highest respect. What I am about to do I do from firm persuasion. I had the honour to second his nomination in the year 1817, and from that time until the present I have noticed his candour, his efficiency, and his impartiality. (Hear). With these feelings I should do injustice to him, and to my own character, if I satisfied myself with giving a silent vote on this occasion. (Hear, hear). The House, then, will be justified in supporting this motion, as it was justified in electing him before, by the attention, ability, and efficiency which the Right Hon. Gentleman has displayed. Under such circumstances, I trust the House

will reflect before they decide, and the noble Lord has rightly observed, that we are assembled under very peculiar circumstances. But, under any circumstances, we want a man whose knowledge and talent will assist us in the business of the House; and no man can be more fitted for the chair, and to expedite the business, than one who has had so much practice, and before whom no gentleman, however excellent his character, or however fair his pretensions, can on that account be preferred. I therefore most cordially assent to the motion of the noble Lord, and will not detain the House longer, feeling that any thing I could add would be superfluous.

Mr. DENISON then rose. He said, I can assure the House that it is with great reluctance I rise to trespass upon its attention, and nothing but an imperious sense of duty could induce me to come forward at the present important crisis—at a period in which the public mind is so much excited, and when the eyes, not only of this country and of Europe, but of the whole civilized world, are directed to our proceedings. In a great part of what has fallen from the noble Lord (Sandon), whose appearance in this House I am happy to observe, I fully concur; nor do I object to much that has been expressed by the hon. Baronet who seconded the motion, in all they have stated respecting the qualities of the right hon. Gentleman, the member for Cambridge, respecting all the virtues of his private character, and respecting the dignified manner in which he demeaned himself while in the chair of this House. (Hear, hear, and cheers). But this is not a question of personal character—it is one in which public principle is involved, (cheers and laughter from the ministerial side); and however the noble Lord may sneer at public principle, I trust the House will not despise it. The noble Lord has thrown more asperity into the debate than, in my opinion, is required; and although he has leaped his light courser beyond bound, I will not now imitate his example. It is, I repeat, on the assertion of a great public principle that I rise to trespass on the attention of the House, called upon, as it now is, to decide upon a question in which the

interests of thousands are involved. His Majesty, in the exercise of his undoubted right, dissolved the last Parliament: the people responded to the call, and have returned a majority of representatives steadily attached to the great principles of the Reform Bill. (Cheers). With all respect for the talents and character of the right hon. the Member for the University of Cambridge, I think it incumbent on this House, that a gentleman should be placed in the chair, the highest situation to which any commoner can aspire, the representative of the greatest assemblage in the universe should be assimilated in principle to the majority of the members over whom he presides, "as coming events cast their shadows before." We must, in deciding this question, take into consideration the measures which the right hon. Baronet at the head of his Majesty's Government proposes to bring before the House. In the discussion of Corporation Reform; the Bill for the Relief of the Dissenters; the motion of the hon. Member for St. Albans; and of that crying of all grievances, the State of the Irish Church; in the Discussion as to the Dismissal of the Melbourne Administration unheard and without a trial, without that trial which the right hon. Baronet and his friends around him are so sedulous in demanding, forgetting the principle of "Do as you wish to be done by"; in the debate which must take place on the unprecedented assumption of the reins of Government, for three weeks, by one individual, who however high in station, or renowned for his military achievements abroad, should have been deterred from such a hazardous undertaking. In all these discussions, it will be incumbent on the House to have a gentleman in the chair, who, acting with impartiality and dignity, will agree with the majority of the House. But a time may arrive when a difference of opinion with the other House may take place. In such an emergency, it would be requisite to have a gentleman in the chair whose sentiments will be perfectly identified with the principles of the Reform Bill. In rising to propose the right hon. the member for Edinburgh, as he is present, I cannot say all I think respecting him; but this I must say, that there is no gen-

tleman, in my opinion, of all those whom I have the honour to see around me, more qualified than he is to fill the chair, whether I regard the uniform consistency of his political character; his amiable manners, his long parliamentary experience, or his profound legal knowledge, combining, as he does, a good temper with a clear head, as evinced in many long and trying debates, professing, too, the great principles of the Reform Bill; with such opinions, I flatter myself that all the gentlemen that I have now the honour to address who supported the Reform Bill, or who, on the hustings, avowed themselves supporters of it, not only in letter, but in spirit, I hope that all such will support the motion with which I shall conclude, viz., to put, as I said before, into the first station to which a commoner can aspire, the representative of the greatest assembly in the universe, the right hon. James Abercromby. The right hon. Gentleman sat down amidst loud cheering.

Mr. ORDE then rose to second the nomination which had been made. He said, It is with great reluctance that I now trespass upon the time of the House, but I trust that the occasion will be my apology. (Cheers). I feel a deeper degree of regret when I have to oppose the election of a gentleman whose public services I must acknowledge. (Great cheering). I am as willing as any one to acknowledge those services, but I think that this is an occasion when private opinion must give way to public duty. The choice of a Speaker is not a mere local question, as the noble Lord has said. The question is one looked at by all persons, not only of this country, but of others; it is not looked at as a question of a personal nature, but very justly as the proof of what the Parliament really is. (Cheers). The question most frequently asked is, If the right honourable Gentleman was fitted to fill the situation of Speaker in the last Parliament, why is he not now; what has rendered him unfit to preside over the present one? Into those questions I will not follow the noble Lord; they have been disposed of by my honourable Friend who has proposed the amendment. (Cheers). The only answer to that I can give is, that

the times have changed (cheers), the times and circumstances have totally changed since the election of the right hon. Gentleman. It was generally understood then, that the right hon. Gentleman had retired; he had had his retiring pension fixed (cheers); so that there can be no parallel drawn between the present circumstances and those which actuated the members of the last Parliament. Then, the question was not a test of the state of political parties, as it is now. (Great cheering). The whole country now looks at the present question as one which will decide the question to which their whole attention is directed. (Cheers). His Majesty, who was advised to appeal to the sense of the people and the country, will be very much dissatisfied if the reply to that appeal should be, the very first vote of this House is to place in the chair one whose opinions are not in accordance with the opinions of the great majority of the House. I am obliged to oppose the election of the late Speaker on these grounds; he would not be the representative of the House, would not be the real organ of the House. My hon. Friend, whose nomination I am about to second, has this qualification, that he will in reality be the organ of the House, his opinions being in accordance with those of the majority of the House. (Great cheering). His election will be received by the country as the triumph, not of a party, but of a great public principle. (Great cheering). Such are the grounds upon which I support the nomination of the right hon. Member for Edinburgh to fill the chair of this House. It is with great pleasure that I second the nomination of the Right. Hon. James Abercromby to the chair of this House. (Great cheering).

Sir C. M. SUTTON then rose. He said he was aware that he owed an apology, an excuse to the House, for intruding himself upon them. He was so circumstanced that the House, after hearing what he had to say, must form their own judgment. He would not, for he could not, say one word in disparagement of the qualifications of the right hon. Gent., the member for the city of Edinburgh. He had waited writhing under all the

charges that had been heaped upon him. Knowing that the proper place to give an answer to the charges was the floor of that House (cheers), he trusted the House would hear him, for he would speak without any asperity. (Hear). The charge against me in the abstract is, that being Speaker, I busied myself in other matters; that I assisted in the formation of the present Ministry, and counselled and advised the dissolution of the late Government. (Hear, hear). Now, these were the three points affecting my public character, and peculiarly affecting it as the Speaker of this House, who, to a certain extent, must be indebted to the existing Government, and would, therefore, be guilty of lending a hand to the extinction of that body which had given him the proud pre-eminence which he filled. Now, to all, to each one, and to every one of these charges, I reply, there is not one word of truth from beginning to end. (Loud cheers). Sir, with respect to my having been mixed up with other matters, allow me to explain, that as soon after the prorogation of the last Parliament as the remaining public business which remained to be disposed of would allow me, I went into the country with my family; and it will be remembered that at that time his Majesty was also at Brighton. But I remained there without any communication, directly or indirectly, with any member of the Government until I was called back to London, by express, upon the occasion of the lamentable fire which happened. (Hear). I came to London as quickly as possible, and after witnessing the devastation which had occurred, it was suggested to me, and I instantly adopted the suggestion, that it was my duty to acquaint his Majesty of it. When my right hon. friend, Sir Robert Peel, returned, and took upon himself the station which he now occupies, he did me the honour to send for me to his house. It was upon an occasion when I was requested to attend a Privy Council, which had nothing whatever political in its object, it was for the purpose of getting the sanction of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make good the payments of the Exchequer, and to fix the salaries. With these two exceptions, from the time

of Sir Robert Peel's return up to this time, I have never attended a Cabinet Council at his house. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches). I will not go further with this subject. But when I hear of constant visits and communications with the Home-office before my right hon. friend (Peel) returned, and of my being continually with the Duke of Wellington, I think I am bound to say that there is not one word of truth in it all. (Cheers). It would be perfectly immaterial if it were true. I would have felt it an honour if I were justified in calling so frequently as I was reported to have called. But I should consider it an act of impertinence, having no business to transact there, if I were to call as has been stated. I never did so, and all I will say to the charge is, that it is totally false. (Cheers). Now, with respect to the formation of the present Ministry, I will boldly say, that with the exception of my right hon. friend, Sir R. Peel, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Wellington, I never have advised, never suggested, never counselled, and never knew of the appointment of any one individual, till it had taken place. (Great cheering from the Ministerial benches). So much for that charge. I will now come to this, namely, the dissolution of the last Parliament. (Hear, hear). It has been said that I assisted at the council where that measure was resolved upon. It is not true. (Great cheering). I never did advise, never did counsel, never was consulted, and never had any thing to do with the dissolution of the last Parliament. So little did I know of it, that it was by accident, purely by accident, that I became acquainted with it. I knew nothing of the fact till it was announced in the Gazette. (Cheers). I will only mention this further circumstance, and the fact will occur to the minds of all the gentlemen here, that if I were so confident that Parliament should be dissolved, why did I not take those steps that were taken by others, why did I not address my constituency in the prospect of a dissolution, why did I not beg for their favour? The fact was, that I have had no communication whatever upon the subject, nor did I have any with my constituents until I

ceased to be Speaker of that House. When I did so cease, I then certainly had communications on the subject. I am now again a candidate for the high office. I formerly held, but with respect to my having had any communication with any human being, at any time, or upon any occasion, with reference to the late dissolution of the last Government, or that there is any thing from which to infer that I had any thing to do, or that I delivered a single opinion respecting the dissolution of the last Parliament, I will say, that to each and to all I will give, with the utmost solemnity, the strongest denial that can be given. I will declare, before this House, that, from the beginning to the end, it is wholly and utterly false. (Great cheering). I have felt it but respectful to the House to state this. As I said before, I have long been the servant of the House of Commons and their chief officer, and there is no disgrace which I should feel so heavy, as upon the present occasion to be discredited by this House. (Loud cheers). With respect to who is the best person to fill the office of chairman, I am sure that the House will concur with me, and I mean no disparagement to my right honourable friend (Mr. Abercromby) in saying so, that at the present moment, from peculiar circumstances, it will require great experience, and great knowledge of the business of the House, in order to discharge the duties of chairman. Whether I am elected or not, falls to nothing, when compared to this. I have the highest respect for the right honourable and learned Gentleman who has been proposed in opposition to me, and I hope he will believe that I speak with perfect sincerity when I say that no man rates his talents higher than I do, and I feel that it is no disparagement to him to say that even he would feel great difficulties in filling the chair of this House. I will now conclude; but before I sit down, perhaps the House will permit me to express a wish, it is the one uppermost in my mind, that whatever may be the determination of the House upon the present occasion, they may form a sound judgment in electing him as their Speaker who will discharge his duties most use-

fully to the country, most acceptably to the House, and most satisfactory to the public at large. The right hon. Gentleman concluded amidst very loud cheers.

Mr. ABERCROMBY then rose and was received with most enthusiastic cheers. From the situation in which the right hon. Gentleman stood, and from the low tone in which he spoke, it was almost impossible to catch a single whole sentence of what he stated. We, however, understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that he had yielded to the suggestions of his friends, and not by any desire of his own, in standing forward, as a candidate for the high office of Speaker of that House. The House was now about to perform its first and one of its most important duties. (Loud cheers). He had always considered the selection of the individual who was to fill the highest place in that House was one of its most paramount duties. (Cheers). He would say nothing at the present moment with reference to the fitness of the right hon. Gentleman or himself to fill that high office, but would leave that point to be decided by the judgment of those who were much more competent judges than himself. (Cheers). The right hon. Gentleman opposite, no doubt, as he thought properly and most honourably, had entered into explanations of his conduct with reference to what had taken place, not within, but without the walls of that House. It must be known to all present that the contest out of the House had been conducted in a very different manner to that in which it would be carried on in it. (Great cheering). He would not advert now to what had taken place elsewhere, because, unless he was very much deceived, many days would not pass before a motion would be brought before that House, which would have the effect of deciding the particular question which had been so much the subject of conversation out of doors. (Loud cheers). Whatever opinion he had entertained upon different subjects, whether right or wrong he would not pretend to say, had been adopted by them because he believed them to be the best. He did not think it necessary to trouble the House further, as he was firmly convinced its decision

would be such as would give weight and dignity to itself, and insure all its rights and privileges, and secure the conducting of its business with order and regularity, which was essential to the comfort, honour, confidence of the people. (Cheers).

Lord STANLEY then rose amidst great cheering and addressed the House as follows: Sir, as I conceive it is not probable that any other gentleman will be submitted to the consideration of the House other than those that have already been laid before it, I hope I shall not be considered as impertinently intruding myself on the attention of the House, when I confess that I feel anxious to take this opportunity of stating the grounds for the vote which it is my intention to give on the present occasion. (Cheers). In doing so, I am anxious, in a question which partakes in some degree of personal and political consideration, to state my views without offence to either of the two gentlemen who have been put in nomination, for both of whom I entertain personal respect (cheers), and from whom I have received during the existence of the late Government, great and important assistance. (Cheers). I had the honour to form part of that Government, an honour I shall ever feel in having for four years been a member of that Administration. I yield to no Member in my attachment to that which has been put forward as the great principle involved in this question, I mean the principle of Reform. I yield to no member of that or any other Government in my attachment to liberal principles. I will venture to say, I am second to none in the zeal with which I endeavoured to support it. But in 1833, although I did not express my sentiments on that occasion, I conveyed most fully my praises to those which were every where bestowed by every side of the House on the talents, integrity, and impartiality of my honourable Friend, that no difference of public opinion were sufficient to counterbalance his inestimable services. (Loud cheers). I was of that opinion then, I am of that opinion now. But when I came down to the House, I must confess I did expect to hear a declaration of the differences of circumstances under which their opinions had changed.

(Cheers). I came down with communications from neither one side nor the other, founded on nothing but the public prints, and wherein I was informed that disclosures were to be made that would call on the House, as a matter of honour, to do an act of justice to itself in not submitting to an intriguer as the President of their assembly. Now, Sir, what has been done? My hon. Friend who proposed the right honourable Gentleman, and no man entertains a higher respect for talent and consistency than I do, says not one word on the subject; but that, on the contrary, my right hon. Friend (Sir Charles Manners Sutton) stood as high in the estimation of the country as he ever stood before. But he says that a great public principle is involved here. My hon. Friend, the Member for Newcastle, who followed in the same course, explained a little more what that general principle was, which I confess, in my own mind, had been left in doubt. (Hear, hear). He had declared that no public charges were made on his public conduct, but that, moreover, if public charges had been made elsewhere, that the House of Commons could not take cognizance of them; that if they had been made, the House was not to take advantage of them. The right hon. Gentleman was, he was convinced, from what had fallen from him, not satisfied with his position; he had felt that in that position in which his friends desired to place him, he ought not only to be unconvicted, but unsuspected. I agree with him, my right hon. Friend has met the charges boldly; he has met them freely; he has met them unanswered; without an intention of their being answered; and I say, then, on these grounds the House of Commons cannot degrade the right hon. Gentleman from the situation in which he now stands (Great cheering). Honourable Gentlemen may perhaps not believe me when I say I speak in all sincerity, and I use the words of one of the hon. Gentlemen who proposed Mr. Abercromby. The difference between the cases of 1833 and 1835 has been stated by him to be, that in one case a Speaker was proposed by those who wielded the control of the Government, having a certain majority in their

favour, and that in the present instance the majority may be less, and that therefore it is essential we should take this opportunity of signifying to the Crown that we have no confidence in the Administration. (Hear, hear, hear). Is this the principle? (Hear, hear, hear). Well, then, if it is, I say that an act of grosser injustice (great cheering from the Ministerial benches), an act savouring more of resentment than of justice, never could be perpetrated, than taking a decision of that point upon a question materially affecting the honour and the character of the House itself. (Cheers from the Ministerial benches). I say, sir, if it be the intention to try the strength of parties, let that question be manfully brought to issue, upon an address for the removal of the Ministers. (Hear, hear). But I say, do not on the one hand endanger and damage the character. (Cries of No, no, and Hear, hear, from the Ministerial benches) I say, do not commit such an injustice (Loud cries of No, no, and I appeal to the honour and the candour of Gentlemen in this House, when I ask them if it be not an injustice (Hear, hear, and continued cries of No, no), to remove a Speaker against whom you have not only admitted that there is no present charge, but whom you have even admitted to be pre-eminently qualified for the situation; if it be not an injustice to remove him, for the purpose of ascertaining the strength of parties. (Cheers, and No, no). It would be impertinent of me to mention the name of any gentleman as qualified to discharge with dignity and impartiality the arduous duties of Speaker of this House, but if feelings of delicacy did not prevent me, I could lay before the House a man—who, from his knowledge, setting aside the experience of the right hon. Gentleman below me (Sir C. M. Sutton) was preferable to any other with whom I am acquainted, and whose political opinions approached nearest to my own. I would select the right hon. Gentleman who represents the town of Cambridge (Mr. Rice). If my vote is to be taken as an indication that my opinions are in accordance with the political opinions of the gentleman whom I support, mine accord more with that right hon. gentleman's,

than with those of the right hon. member for Edinburgh; but I disclaim the doctrine altogether. I neither agree with the political principles of the right hon. gentleman below me (Sir C. Sutton), or with those of the member for Edinburgh, but I stand on the declaration which I made before—a declaration consistent with all my political sentiments and opinions, consistent also with all the arguments which have been heard from this side of the House, and not attempted to be refuted, that no case has been made out, which can induce this House to withdraw its support from the right hon. Gentleman who has for so many years filled the Chair. In conclusion, I have to repeat that it is on public grounds, and not from any agreement in political principles, I support the motion of the noble Lord, the member for Lancashire.

Mr. ABERCROMBY explained a report which prevailed out of doors. (Cries of "Question," and "Divide").

Mr. FERGUSSON said—It is with no inconsiderable degree of diffidence I rise to offer my sentiments on this important occasion. Very early perceiving that there would be a strong opposition and difference of opinion on this question (though I did not consider it would be so important as it has become), from a high respect for the impartiality of feeling and judgment, I did certainly communicate to Sir C. M. Sutton, that I should vote for him, or at least not against him. ("Question, question"). But the character of my present course is now, however, very different. It is not now a question of character, but a great political question. (Hear, hear). On that principle I would have voted against my own brother, if he had been opposed to the principles I conceived advantageous to the public good; but in the situation in which I was placed, I found that the voice of the Reformers throughout the country was loud and decided on the question. (Hear, hear). Even my own constituents requested me to support the other right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Abercromby), and appeals came upon me, so fast and forcible, to bring me to vote against Sir C. M. Sutton, that I was placed in a very difficult situation, and there is scarcely a gentleman in the north

who does not think I shall vote against that right hon. Gentleman. I am sorry to say that Sir C. M. Sutton has placed his honour and character at stake upon this question. (Cries of "No, no," and "Hear, hear"). I say it in the most friendly manner, that he has placed his character and honour at stake, and, as he has left it to me to take my own course, I may declare that I believe his character and honour is not at stake. (Hear, hear, hear). But the question is intimately connected with the great principle of Reform, and if I supposed his character and honour were at stake, I would be the last man to vote against him. (Hear, hear). After what has been said, I have nothing more to add, than that I shall so far maintain my promise as not to vote against him. (Hear, and loud cries of "Question").

Sir CHARLES M. SUTTON and Mr. FERGUSSON explained.

Lord JOHN RUSSELL then rose, and was received with loud cheers. He said he could not trespass upon the time of the House, without explaining the grounds upon which he gave his vote upon the present occasion. Before going into the matter generally, he would say something relative to what had fallen from his right hon. friend (Lord Stanley). If his principles, as laid down by him that day, were carried out, then there was an end at once to the option of the House of Commons as to whom they should place in their chair. According to that doctrine, the House of Commons were bound to re-elect the right hon. Gentleman, because he had come down and denied, most firmly, that he had any thing to do with counselling the dissolution of the late House (great cheering), with being guiltless of intriguing for the dismissal of the late ministry. The House had not met for the purpose of passing a vote of censure upon the right hon. gentleman the late Speaker, but to exercise one of the most important acts they could be called upon to do, viz. the choosing of a gentleman to preside over their debates; and it would not, it could not, for a moment be supposed that the House would cast dis-honour on any one of the candidates, because they did not elect him. (Cheers).

There was a precedent for the election he proposed to the House. In the time of Lord North, Sir Fletcher Norton having done something to displease that minister, and the noble Lord having a majority in the House, proposed another gentleman as Speaker, making some complimentary speech to the effect that he was too old a servant of the House, and ought to be relieved from his duties. The noble Lord carried his motion; but could it, for a moment, be supposed that the House intended, by the vote, to cast censure upon Sir F. Norton? Much had been said as to the attendance of the late Speaker at the Privy Councils; but it was a well known fact, that the summoning of the councillors does not rest with the King, but with the Prime Minister for the time. The attendance in question took place when the Duke of Wellington was Prime Minister (cheers); and it was a well known fact that none of the councillors were summoned but those who were well known to hold opinions in unison with the person who summoned. (Cheers). His feeling was that the Speaker of the House of Commons had so mixed himself up in the late political world, that he had compromised the dignity of the character. (Cheers). There is no doubt that if the right hon. Gentleman had pleaded to be excused, it would have been granted. Let us give the country an earnest that we mean to set zealously about Reform; that we are not going to deceive the people by mock Reform; let us show that, with undoubted loyalty to the Crown, we are determined to maintain the privileges of the Commons. (Tremendous cheering).

Sir ROBERT PEEL then rose, and was received with loud cheers. He said —I will pursue the course generally adopted by every one who has addressed the House, namely, that of limiting the discussion on the present occasion to the matter in question. I appear here as a witness to perform a task I feel to be wholly unnecessary, that of confirming, so far as my testimony can, the accuracy of my right hon. Friend (Sir C. M. Sutton). As to what took place previous to my arrival in this country, I will say nothing. I will speak only with regard to what I know myself. In undertaking the

duty assigned to me by his Majesty, or at least shortly afterwards—I had an interview with my right hon. Friend, Sir Charles Manners Sutton, and informed him of the task I had undertaken, and of the principles upon which I was determined to proceed, namely, that I should seek for aid in the performance of that task from every man whom I thought could unite with me consistently with his honour. I asked him, respecting, as I did, his abilities and experience in public life, whether it was consistent with his feelings and sense of duty to enter into the service of the Crown? (Cheers). Sir, I received from the right hon. Gentleman this answer, that he did not seek employment in an official capacity in the service of the Crown, there is a defect in that which I will supply, as probably that was the main reason which induced him at such a time to withhold his services from his Majesty: he stated I have served in the Chair for a period of eighteen years, and I do feel that if I were now to enter into the arena of discussion, I should, after so long a service in, and my personal connection with, the authority of that situation, I should run the risk of lowering it, if I appeared in the House of Commons as a member of the Government. (Cheers). That was the reason, Sir, my friend assigned to me for his willingness, nay, his desire, to withhold his service upon that occasion. Lord Grey and his adherents having a great majority, thought it right to elect the right hon. Gentleman whom the same party now oppose. You had the power, then, to enforce your opinions, for you then had a majority, and why did you depart from the principle you now lay down? The first decision of the Reformed Parliament carries this conclusion, that the House did not feel itself called upon to elect a Speaker whose opinions were in accordance with the majority of the House. (Hear, hear, hear). The noble Lord says "we wanted to avail ourselves of the advantages of the right hon. Gentleman's character, abilities, and experience, and therefore we elected him. But that man has served us; he has done his work; he has answered our object; and, with signal ingratititude, I must say

(loud and repeated cheering), we will now dismiss him, after we had established the principle of electing a Speaker not of our own opinions, when we had the power to reject him. After we have availed ourselves of his services, and after he has co-operated with us in establishing the character of the first Reformed Parliament for decorum, we will unfairly take the very first opportunity to subject him to disgrace. (Cries of "No, no"). No, no, indeed; for no disgrace can be heaped upon a man who has done his duty. It is beyond the reach of a majority to do that; but it is not beyond the reach of a majority to injure the character of the House. (Hear, hear). The House has a most important duty to perform, and should be as careful not to do injustice to any individual, as not to lessen its own character and influence. I shall resist the motion, then, of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Denison) on individual and personal grounds; and, as this is the only office the House has the power of conferring, let us avail ourselves, in the selection we may make, of the example which reformed and unreformed Parliaments have afforded us. The only objection made to the appointment of the right hon. Gentleman (Sir C. Sutton), is, that he attended certain councils which were instrumental in dismissing the old Government, and in forming a new one. All the testimonies that have been given of his tried impartiality and his abilities remain quite unimpeached. But if he is to be blamed for acting in the capacity of a Privy Councillor, the House should make a rule disqualifying him for that office. A great mistake pervades the public mind as to the duties of a Privy Councillor; it consists not merely of the members of Government; others besides are called on to attend the Council. No advice is given in it. But if the Speaker is in town when a Privy Council is convened, and his advice is asked, what right has he to refuse such advice? It is erroneous, however, to say that the right hon. Gentleman contributed to the formation of the present Government, on the dismissal of the former one. I shall vote for the honourable Gentleman, because I think that the precincts of the chair of that

House ought not to be invaded to try the strength of political parties. (Hear, hear). I shall resist the motion to appoint the right hon. Member for Edinburgh, on the ground that the Member for the University of Cambridge possesses superior qualifications from his long practice in the duties of Speaker; and because his rejection, for the reasons advanced against his appointment, would tend to disparage as well the character of the office of Speaker as of the House of Commons itself. The right hon. Baronet sat down, and was loudly cheered for some minutes.

Mr. COBBETT said, that he would not detain the House two minutes. He said, the last words he heard from the lips of his constituents were expressive of their thanks to the King for having dismissed his late Ministers; and that his first act should not be that of a vote tending to force those Ministers back again upon the King. That, with regard to the right hon. and learned Member for Edinburgh, for whom, personally, he had a very great respect, he would not vote for him, because he had made one of a ministry who hatched, brought in, pushed on, and proceeded to be passed, the *inhuman Poor-law Bill*.

[After this Mr. Cobbett, who could not vote for Mr. MANNERS SUTTON, without an abandonment of the principle, that a pensioner ought not to be the first Commoner of England, walked out of the House, and did not vote at all; because if he had voted *against* Mr. ABERCROMBY, that same vote would have been for Mr. MANNERS SUTTON.]

Lord MORPETH then rose, amidst loud cries of "Question, question." He said he would limit his observations to what seemed to him to be peculiar to his own position. (Hear, hear, hear). His noble Friend who had opened the discussion of to day so ably, had reminded the House that at the election of the Speaker of the last Parliament, he (Lord M.) had had the distinguished honour of proposing the successful candidate for that high appointment; and true it was, that he rested his recommendation of the appointment of Sir Charles Manners Sutton on his eminent fitness for the discharge of the duties and dignities of his office.

(Hear, hear). Not one syllable of what he had then stated did he now repent or retract. On the contrary, if the opponents of Sir Charles M. Sutton should fail in their object, they would at least have the compensation of yielding to no unworthy foe, and of knowing that the high functions of that office would be entrusted to a skilful guardianship.

Sir R. PEEL said a few words, but not one was heard.

The House then divided, and there appeared:

For Mr. Abercromby	316
For Sir C. M. Sutton	306

Majority for Mr. Abercromby 10

The House then adjourned.

On the announcement of the division, He cheers both within and without the house were deafening beyond precedent.

From the LONDON GAZETTE.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 13.

INSOLVENT.

COLE, R., Basinghall-street, scrivener.

BANKRUPTCIES ANNULLED.

HAUKER, J. B., Montague-street, Portman-square, plumber.

SMALL, A. D., Napsbury, Herefordshire, dealer in cattle.

BANKRUPTS.

ARGENT, F. S., Fetter-lane, painter.

BROTHERTON, T., Bradford-moor, Yorkshire, shopkeeper.

EBERS, J., Old Bond-street, bookseller.

ECCLES, Wm. and J. Stalman, Hatton-garden and Spring-gardens, tailors.

EDGSON, W., Irchester, Northamptonshire, butcher.

HUMPHREY, W., Taunton, Somersetshire, chemist.

M'NAMARA, W., Houndsditch, plumber.

PARR, E., Baldwin's-gardens, Grays-inn-lane, furniture-broker.

RIGBYE, J. T., Tarlton, Lancashire, coal-merchant.

WATSON, J., Tynemouth, Northumberland, painter.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17.

INSOLVENT.

GOODBURN, J., Brighton-place, New Kent-road, silversmith.

BANKRUPTCY SUPERSEDED.

DENMAN, E., Mark-lane, watch-manufacturer.

- BANKRUPTS.
- AGAR, J. S., Hammersmith, engraver.
 DAVEY, G., Gwinear, Cornwall, miller.
 DICKISSON, J., Nottingham, lace-manufacturer.
 GARDINER, T., Hunter-street, Southwark, currier.
 GAUDERN, W., Earls-barton, Northamptonshire, fellmonger.
 KNIGHT, S. J., Lower Belgrave-place, Pimlico, ironmonger.
 RITCHIE, A., Carey-street, victualler.
 SATCHER, W., Great Saffron-hill, licensed-victualler.
 STEPHENS, D. W., Emsworth, Hants, wine-merchant.
 WRIGHT, H., Old Broad-street, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 16.—

We have had a large supply of Wheat, Flour, Barley, and Oats, since this day week. We experienced a dull market for all grain to-day. Wheat, malting Barley, and Malt, were each offered 1s. per qr. lower than on last Monday, and the demand at this reduction mostly limited to fine qualities. In prices of grinding Barley, Beans, and Peas, no alteration since this day week.

The Oat trade was very heavy to-day, and 6d. to 1s. per quarter lower than last Monday, the succession of large supplies of this article staggers the confidence of our speculators.

In Corn under Lock, nothing doing.

Wheat, English, White, new	42s. to 52s.
Old	48s. to 52s.
Red, new	38s. to 42s.
Old	40s. to 42s.
Lincolnshire, red	36s. to 42s.
White	42s. to 44s.
Yorkshire, red	36s. to 41s.
White	40s. to 44s.
Northumberl. & Berwick	38s. to 41s.
Fine white	40s. to 42s.
Dundee & choice Scotch	43s. to 44s.
Irish red, good	35s. to 36s.
White	38s. to 42s.
Rye	30s. to 34s.
New	34s. to 36s.
Barley, English, grinding	15s. to 28s.
Distilling	28s. to 32s.
Malting	32s. to 36s.
Chevalier	38s. to 43s.
Malt	44s. to 54s.
Fine new	56s. to 64s.
Beans, Tick, new	33s. to 34s.
Old	36s. to 38s.
Harrow, new	35s. to 37s.
Old	38s. to 40s.

Peas, White, English	36s. to 38s.
Foreign	35s. to 36s.
Gray or Hog	36s. to 40s.
Maples	38s. to 42s.
Oats, Polands	23s. to 26s.
Lincolnshire, short small	23s. to 24s.
Lincolnshire, feed	21s. to 23s.
Yorkshire, feed	22s. to 24s.
Black	23s. to 25s.
Northumberland and Berwick Potato	25s. to 26s.
Ditto, Angus	24s. to 25s.
Banff and Aberdeen, com.	24s. to 25s.
Potato	25s. to 27s.
Irish Potato, new	22s. to 23s.
Feed, new light	—s. to 20s.
Black, new	21s. to 22s.
Foreign feed	22s. to 24s.
Danish and Pomerian, old	20s. to 21s.
Petersburgh, Riga, &c.	22s. to 23s.
Foreign, in bond, feed	12s. to 14s.
Brew	16s. to 18s.

SMITHFIELD, February 16.

This day's supply of Beasts, Sheep, and Porkers, was rather great; its supply of Calves but limited. Trade was, with each kind of meat, very dull, at barely Friday's quotations.

About 750 of the Beasts, about a third of which were Shorthorns, the remainder in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, Welsh runts, and Irish Beasts, with about 100 Scots, were from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, and others of our northern districts; about 1,600, a full moiety of which were Scots, the remainder in about equal numbers of Norfolk homebreds, runts, Devons, and Shorthorns, with a few Irish Beasts, from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire; about 120, in about equal numbers of Herefords, Devons, and runts, with a few Irish Beasts, from our western and midland districts; about 50, chiefly Sussex Beasts, with a few runts and Devons, from Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, and most of the remainder, including about 30 Towns-end Cows, from the stall feeders &c. near London.

Fully three-fifths of the Sheep were new Leicesters of the Southdown and white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about three of the former to two of the latter: about a fifth Southdowns; and the remainder about equal numbers of old Leicesters, Kents, and Kentish half-breds, with a few pens of horned and polled Norfolks, horned Dorsets and Somersets, horned and polled Scotch and Welsh Sheep, &c.

THE FUNDS.

per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.	
Cons.	un.	92 <i>1</i> <i>4</i>	92 <i>1</i> <i>4</i>	92 <i>1</i> <i>4</i>	92	92	92